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The United Order Among the Mormons

(Missouri Phase)

An Unfinished Experiment in Economic Organization

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To the Pioneer
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PREFACE

The United Order is a plan of economic relationship designed to effect a redistribution of property in order that a measurable degree of economic equality may be achieved. The plan further provides a means for perpetuating this equality. It is characteristically Mormon in origin and in method. At two distinct periods (1831-34 and 1874-83), the Mormon Church has made efforts to bring about its establishment. At neither time was ultimate success achieved, though progress was made. The early effort was interrupted after two years of trial by the old settlers of Missouri, who expelled the Mormons from Jackson County. It was, therefore, an unfinished experiment. The later attempt under Brigham Young was brought to an end in most of the settlements by the Church leaders themselves, who soon discovered that, since membership was voluntary, two distinct classes were forming in the Church, and this was considered undesirable. Lorenzo Snow dissolved the Richfield, Utah, unit (the most widely known effort of the period) in 1878, soon after the death of Brigham Young and gave no reasons for the action taken. In a few towns where everybody became members of the Order, such as Orderville, Utah, and Glenwood, Utah, strong influence was brought to bear by the general authorities of the Church to make the organizations permanent, but, unfortunately, in these towns the plans were launched on a communistic basis and the people finally rebelled against the monotonous existence which resulted. The United Order, as given by Joseph Smith, is not communistic but is based on private property. This study is concerned with the first, or Missouri, period only.

Source material is somewhat limited. In those days Independence, Missouri, was on the western confines of civilization and pioneer conditions prevailed. Detailed accounts of business operations were probably not kept. The troubled and unsettled conditions under which the Mormons lived and which required frequent forced migrations added also to the difficulty of preserving records. Chief reliance in making this study has, therefore, necessarily been centered on the *Doctrine and Covenants,* the *Evening and Morning Star* (a monthly published at Independence, 1832-34) the *Messenger and Advocate* (a monthly published at Kirtland, O., 1834-37), the *Times and Seasons* (a semi-monthly, after Nov., 1840, published at Commerce, later called Nauvoo, Ill., 1839-46), the *Millennial Star* (a monthly, later a weekly, published first in 1840 at Manchester, England, but removed a few months later

to Liverpool, England, where it is still being published), and the *History of the Church,* by Joseph Smith, which has been printed separately with introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts, but is also contained in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Millennial Star.* Frequent comparisons have been made with the many writers, Mormon and non-Mormon, who have included an account of the Jackson County period of Mormon history in their writings. Reference to such works are to be found in the foot-notes as the enquiry proceeds.

A two-fold purpose has actuated the writer in prosecuting this study. He has constantly held in view the lay reader, particularly among the Mormon people where the desire still lives to re-establish the United Order at some future time. In doing this, however, he has endeavored not to lose sight of the student of economics. The nature of the subject and the materials with which it deals are of such a character that some training in economic theory is requisite to an adequate understanding of the problems presented.

Few investigations, indeed, have been made into Mormon topics which have not been colored by either a pronounced feeling of friendliness which has thrown a sort of halo about personages and events, or by a more or less intense antagonism which has, to an extent, determined subject matter selected and conclusions drawn.

A conscious effort has been made to avoid religious prejudice. Plans and efforts have been examined with a desire to seek out excellence and to give credit where such was due; likewise, to observe shortcomings and to point out errors that have been made, to the end that the work of these early Mormon pioneers in economic organization might be examined in such a way that the record would be useful. Perhaps it may be found that in the course of their striving some difficult questions were solved, or some wrong tendencies were found to be wrong, or still yet that some useful plan founded on right principles was found to be worthy a place in the annals of progress.

The writer takes pleasure in acknowledging indebtedness to Professor E. R. A. Seligman for counsel and encouragement; to Professor Henry R. Seager, for kindly assistance, and to Professor Robert E. Chaddock for helpful suggestions. He desires, also, to render grateful acknowledgment to Professor A. N. Sorensen, of the Brigham Young College; to Dr. Ray Gledhill, of Richfield, Utah; and to Ezra F. Woolley, of Preston, Idaho; and, finally, to that good man, my father, who has never failed his sons in time of need and who finds one of his life's desires fulfilled in the publication of this book.

Joseph A. Geddes.

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CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

Oct. 1830.	The Mission to the Lamanites left New York for the "Borders of the Lamanites" where the new City of Zion was to be.
Fall, 1830.	Mission to the Lamanites established Kirtland Branch,
Fall and Winter 1830	Mission to the Lamanites worked among the Delawares in the Indian Territory, and among the Whites in Jackson Co.
About Feb. 1, 1831.	Joseph Smith made his home in Kirtland Ohio.
Feb. 1831.	Edward Partridge was chosen a Bishop "to the Church."
June, 1831.	A. S. Gilbert was chosen Agent "to the Church" for Zion.
June, 1831.	The Western Mission, consisting of about 30 Elders was sent to hold conference in Western Missouri.
June 19, 1831	Joseph Smith and party, consisting of Sydney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, A. S. Gilbert and wife, started for Missouri. At St. Louis the party divided, Sydney Rigdon, A. S. Gilbert and wife, continuing by boat, while Messrs. Smith, Phelps, Partridge and Coe walked across the state, 280 miles. They reached Independence in the middle of July and met the Elders of the Lamanite mission and the newly arrived Coleville Branch.
Aug. 2, 1831	The first log for a house was laid in Kaw Township (now part of Kansas City) for the Coleville Branch, the land of Zion being dedicated by Sidney Rigdon.
Aug 3, 1831	Joseph Smith dedicated the Temple Site.
Aug. 4, 1831	The first conference was held in Zion during July and August, during which time a number of revelations were announced.
Aug. 9, 1831	Leaving Bishop Partridge to hold conference with the rest of the Elders of the Western Mission when they should arrive, the Elders began the return journey in 16 canoes to Kirtland.
Aug. 11, 1831	Some difficulties arose among the Elders which required adjustment. Joseph Smith, Sydney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery journeyed overland by themselves.
Aug. 27, 1831	Joseph Smith and party reached Kirtland.
Sept. 18, 1831	Joseph Smith moved to Hiram, O., 30 miles southeast of Kirtland and made his home with John Johnson.
About Sept, 1831	A conference was held (place not specified) and W. W. Phelps was instructed to stop at Cincinnati on his way to Missouri and purchase press and type in order to print a monthly paper at Independence, to be called the *Evening and Morning Star.*
Oct. 11, 1831	A conference, held at John Johnson's, appointed six Elders to instruct the Branches. David Whitmer and Reynolds Calhoun, two of the above committee, were given a special duty of "setting forth the condition of Joseph Smith and

	Sydney Rigdon" who needed means in order to continue "translations."
Oct. 25 and 26 1831	At a largely attended conference held at Orange, Ohio, each of many Elders who spoke, expressed a willingness to consecrate all he possessed.
Oct.—Nov., 1831	The Elders who had been designated to go to Independence began to move with their families.
Nov. 1, 1831	At a special conference at Hyram, Ohio, it was decided to publish 10,000 copies of the *Book of Commandments,* to be printed at Independence, Missouri.
Nov., 1831	In a revelation the "Revelations and Commandments" were constituted a stewardship, the returns from which were to go to Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, John Whitmer, Sydney Rigdon, and W. W. Phelps. If a surplus accrued beyond "their necessities and their wants" it was to go into the storehouse.
Nov., 1831	Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer left for Independence with the Commandments and a "considerable sum" of money, for the agent.
Nov. 12, 1831	A conference at Hiram, Ohio, voted that Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, Sydney Rigdon manage the "sacred writings" as a stewardship. Also that "in consequence of the families of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Hiram Page, and David Whitmer administering to their wants in temporal things; and also (on account of) the labors of Samuel H. Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., William Smith and Don Carlos Smith—voted by the conference that the above named Brethren be remembered to the Bishop in Zion as being worthy of inheritances among the people of the Lord, according to the Laws of said Church."
Jan. 28, 1832	Joseph Smith was sustained and ordained as President of the High Priesthood.
March, 1832	A "revelation" indicated that things were not well in the new city of Zion, and Newell K. Whitney, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sydney Rigdon were instructed to visit Independence.
Nov. 24, 1832	Joseph Smith and Sydney Rigdon were tarred and feathered at Hiram, Ohio.
Apr. 1, 1832	Joseph Smith, Newell K. Whitney, Peter Whitmer, Jesse Gause and Sydney Rigdon started for Independence.
Apr. 26, 1832	At a conference held at Independence, the difficulties were settled and Joseph Smith was acknowledged as President of the High Priesthood. Newell K. Whitney, Sydney Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery and Martin Harris were designated as a General Board to manage the United Order in both Zion and Kirtland.
May 1,1832	The New Council ordered 3000 copies (instead of 10,000 as previously arranged for) of the *Book of Commandments* be published; also appointed W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer, "to review and prepare for the Press such revelations as shall be deemed proper for publication," after which they were to be published by W. W. Phelps and Co., also appointed W. W. Phelps to correct and print "the hymns which had been selected by Emma

Smith," also arranged to have a United Firm with a branch store at Zion and one at Kirtland. This firm was authorized "to borrow $15,000 at six per centum, Newell K. Whitney & Co., to transact the business." The party returned to Kirtland "some time in June."

June, 1832 — First number of the *Evening and Morning Star* was published in Zion.

Nov. 8, 1832 — Brigham Young visited Joseph Smith at Kirtland.

Nov. 27, 1832 — Joseph Smith wrote to W. W. Phelps and promised that the Lord "will send one mighty and strong, holding the scepter of power in his hand, clothed with light for a covering, whose mouth shall utter words, eternal words, while his bowels shall be a fountain of truth, to set in order the House of God, and to arrange by vote the inheritance of the Saints, whose names are found, and the names of their fathers, and of their children, enrolled in the book of the law of God."

Dec. 27, 1832 — The Olive Leaf Revelation was announced.

Jan. 14, 1833 — Joseph Smith wrote to W. W. Phelps a letter of rebuke for Zion. A conference of twelve High Priests also wrote a strong letter of rebuke to the Bishop, his Council, and "the inhabitants" of Zion.

Feb. 26, 1833 — A special conference of High Priests met in Zion and considered the letters of rebuke from Kirtland. In a letter of reply a spirit of "sincere and humble repentance" was manifested.

Mar. 18, 1833 — Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams were set apart as counsellors to Joseph Smith, a Presidency of the High Priesthood being established.

Mar. 26, 1833 — A Council of High Priests, twenty in number, met in Zion and decided that the seven men who stood at the head of affairs at Zion should be given recognition and traveling Elders must be subject to them in regulating the different branches in Zion.

Apr. 2, 1833 — F. G. Williams was appointed by the council of High Priests as agent to employ men and superintend the making of brick on the French farm, he to rent the farm. Ezra Theyre was instructed to purchase a tannery from Arnold Mason.

Apr. 6, 1833 — About 80 officials and some others met at the Ferry on the Big Blue for instruction and to celebrate the establishment of the Church. An enjoyable day was spent.

Apr. 21, 1833 — In a letter from the Presidency to the "Brethren in Zion" pleasure was expressed that "the Seminary lands are coming into the market" in Jackson County. Agent Gilbert was admonished for refusing credit at the store in Independence. In a postscript, satisfaction is expressed by Joseph Smith at a confession of John Corrills.

Apr., 1833 — About 300 non-Mormons gathered in Independence for the purpose of "moving the Mormons out of their diggings." Accomplished nothing.

June 1, 1833 — A committee consisting of Hyrum Smith, Reynolds Calhoun and Carter Jared started a circular to get subscriptions with which to build the "House of the Lord" at Kirtland.

June 4, 1833 — A conference not being able to agree as to who should take

charge of the French farm, a "revelation" specified that it be divided into lots for inheritances and that John Johnson be admitted to the Order in Kirtland.

June 24, 1833 A plot of the City of Zion was adopted and ordered sent to Zion by a conference of Elders held at Westfield, and on the following day was sent by the Presidency. It contained also a description of the first temple to be built and designated a number of other temples to be built later. An important letter was also sent which arranged for two more bishoprics for Zion, making three in all. Isaac Morley was to be the second Bishop, and John Corrill, the third. Bishop Partridge was given instruction on "consecrations."

About July 15, 1833 Non-Mormons of Jackson Co., appeared at Independence, in large numbers, armed, and demanded that the Mormons leave the county. Other like gatherings with increasing use of violent arguments occurred July 20th and 23rd.

July 20, 1833 Anti-Mormons destroyed press of *Evening and Morning Star* and tarred and feathered Bishop Partridge and Charles Allen.

July 23, 1833 The Church leaders, Edward Partridge, John Corrill, W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert and John Whitmer, under duress, agreed that certain Church leaders with their families would remove from the county by January 1st, and would use all their influence to get all others to leave, one half by January 1st, and all by April 1st, of the following year. Shortly after the signing of this agreement, Oliver Cowdery was sent to confer with the General Authorities at Kirtland. Orson Hyde and John Gould were sent to Zion with instructions to the saints to neither move from the county, nor dispose of their lands, except those who had signed the agreement to leave.

Sept. 28, 1833 Orson Hyde and W. W. Phelps presented a petition signed by nearly all the Mormon membership in Jackson County, to the Governor, asking for protection.

Oct. 19, 1833 In reply Governor Daniel Dunklin sugested that they "make a trial of the efficacy of the laws" by civil process. Since the court and peace officers were leaders among the old citizens who were determined to have the Mormons leave, such action did not give much promise, but was tried. Court commencing Monday, October 28th.

Among the signers of the "secret constitution" or otherwise active were:

Col. S. D. Sears, a Judge of the County Court.
Col. Fristoe, a Judge of the County Court.
Samuel C. Owen, Clerk of the County Court.
Thomas Pitcher, Deputy Constable of Jackson County.
John Smith, Justice of the Peace at Independence.
Samuel Weston, Justice of the Peace at Independence.

Oct. 20, 1833 The Mormons announced publicly that they intended to defend their lands and homes.

Oct. 26, 1833 Old citizens again collected as a mob and decided to move the Mormons.

Oct. 31,-
Nov. 7, 1833 Reign of Terror.

Nov. 5, 1833 — The militia was called out and Col. Thomas Pitcher, deputy constable of Jackson County and an active member of the mob, was given command. To the Mormons he made it a condition of peace that they deliver up their arms and surrender certain men for trial, agreeing also to disarm the mob. This promise he failed to fulfil and, unarmed, the Mormons soon succumbed to armed raids and were pressed outside the county.

Dec. 1833 — Governor Dunklin caused an inquiry into the conduct of Col. Pitcher in disarming the Mormons to be made at Liberty. Pitcher was later arrested and tried by court martial. The court reported that it was their unanimous opinion that there was no insurrection on that day, and that Col. Pitcher was not authorized to call out his troops on the 5th of November, 1833.

Dec. 6, 1833 — Messrs. Phelps and Hyde presented a petition to Governor Dunklin signed by leading Mormons in Zion, asking for reinstatement and protection, also for the privilege of organizing into companies of Jackson Guards to assist in maintaining their rights.

Jan. 1, 1834 — At a conference in the house of Parley P. Pratt, it was decided to send Lyman Wright and P. P. Pratt to the Presidency at Kirtland to make known the appalling conditions in Missouri and seek advice.

Feb. 1, 1834 — Gov. Dunklin's reply to the Petition of December 6th, contains the following:

"One of your requests needs no evidence to support the right to have it granted, it is that your people be put in possession of their homes, from which they have been expelled. But what will be the duty of the governor after that depends upon contingencies, . . . and should your men organize according to law—which they have a right to do, indeed, it is their duty to do so, unless exempted by religious scruples . . . and apply for public arms, the Executive could not distinguish between their rights to have them, and the right of every other description of people similarly situated.

As to the request for keeping up a military force to protect your people, and prevent the commission of crimes and injuries, were I to compel it, it would transcend the powers with which the Executive of this state is clothed."

Feb. 23, 1834 — About twelve leading Elders who had been subpoenaed by the State to appear at a court of inquiry against the citizens of Jackson Co. who had been active in mob capacity, were escorted under strong military guard to Independence. Attorney General Wells and Circuit Attorney Reese who were there by direction of the Governor after finding out how the old settlers felt, payed the Mormon witnesses a visit and informed them there was no hope of criminal procedure against the mob and advised them to return, which they did. No further effort was made by the state.

Apr. 10, 1834 — The Mormons petitioned the President of the United States for reinstatement and protection until peace could be restored.

Spring, 1834 Zion's Camp was assembled in Kirtland with the intention of raising sufficient money and men from the branches in the East, so that,, added to the numbere in Zion, the latter would be in a position to accept Governor Dunklin's offer of reinstatement in Jackson Co., buying out those who refused to live with them (estimated by John Corrill at 150 to 200) and having sufficient strength so that organized as a militia they could protect their possessions.

The Camp numbered about 200 on its arrival in Missouri. Governor Dunklin, fearing civil war thought it best not to attempt to reinstate the expelled Mormons.

Apr. 10, 1834 A Council of the United Order agreed that the Order should be dissolved, and each one have his stewardship "set off to him."

Apr. 23, 1834 A small branch of the United Order was established in Kirtland. The division of the property into stewardships foreshadowed the end and but little developed from the effort.

Apr. 24, 1834 A. S. Gilbert, *et. al.*, wrote to Gov. Dunklin informing him that some 200 to 300 of their brethren from the East would remove to Jackson County during the course of the coming summer.

May 2, 1834 The President replying through the War Department took the stand that "the offenses of which you complain are violations of the laws of the State of Missouri and not of the laws of the United States."

May 7, 1835 The mob burned the houses of the Mormons, 203 in number, also some stacks of hay and grain, and destroyed a grist mill.

June 16, 1834 At a meeting held at Liberty, Mo., a committee representing the citizens of Jackson County, offered to buy out the Mormons paying double value for their lands and improvements, or they proposed that the Mormons should buy out their lands and improvements on the same terms. The Mormons, unwilling to sell and unable to buy on the terms proposed by the committee from Jackson County, made counter-proposals.

June 24, 1834 Zion's Camp disbanded, disappointed that the Governor, who feared civil war, had hesitated about reinstating the Jackson County Mormons and realizing that they had neither men enough nor money enough to operate independently. The breaking out of the cholera was the immediate cause of disbandment.

June 26, 1834 Samuel C. Owens, of the Jackson County Committee, wrote to Amos Reese, attorney for the Mormons, that after conversing with the most influential men of the county he found "the people here will do nothing like according to their (Mormons) last proposition."

THE UNITED ORDER AMONG THE MORMONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A considerable number of writers have attempted to find an explanation for the influence of Joseph Smith over his people. The conclusions reached range from unscrupulous deception upon an ignorant following, on the one hand, to an honorable place among the prophets on the other. An intermediate group have conceded to him honesty, but have attributed his "visions" to hallucinations, some going so far as to class him as an epileptic. He may have been a deceiver who did not hesitate to use unscrupulous means to obtain power and who was in possession of no inconsiderable amount of innate intelligence. There is little evidence that confirms a half-way place for him. He was not an educated man, and many of the inconsistencies and, at times, immaturities that characterize those who are in ignorance, may be found in the early records of Mormonism which give an account of his work. But there is so much in his active career that shows the workings of a keen mind with unusual breadth of compass that it appears certain he should either be classed as the knave many think him to be or stand enshrined as the seer the Mormons claim he is.

The new world in which Joseph Smith was born affords some explaination of his character. America has done much to stir men's imagination and in doing so to impell them to undertake unusual things.[1] Vast forests and plains, unexplored rivers and lakes, huge mountain ranges in whose recesses precious metals abounded beckoned to the hardy and sent forth their appeal to the strong in that compelling language which the adventurous alone know. The warm blood of old Spain responded and a DeSoto, a Cortez, a Coronado came forward. Individual deeds of heroism seldom before equalled became common. Men became emboldened to dare and to do.

Nor did the new land decline in its appeal to the imagination as colonies grew in numbers and spread over the eastern border fronting the Atlantic, and as the colonial spirit gradually transformed itself into the independent national spirit of the new nation.

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1 The important place imagination holds in conditioning progress, is well brought out by Einor Sundt in his introduction to *Imagination, Labor, Civilization*, (London, 1920). Among many interesting things, Mr. Sundt says: "Intelligence is the child of imagination."

Rather, the vastness of natural resource, the unequalled fertility of the new virgin soil beyond the mountains, the enormous opportunities for gain connected with the transferring of an advanced civilization to a new, rich land tended to stimulate men to conceive larger and larger undertakings and to perform deeds before which pale in many respects even the exploits of the earlier period. Transcontinental railways were to be built which would knit the great stretches together; the extensive iron ore beds were to be drawn upon and the ore changed into billets, beams, and plates, that mans' labor might be made to endure; the oil wells, the coal beds, and the power sites were to deliver up their energy that the wheels of industry might increase in speed and productive power be multiplied.

Joseph Smith (1805-1844) belongs to this period. A study of his writings and of his undertakings reveals at once a pronounced tendency toward what may be termed the "larger view." Irrespective of rightness or wrongness, it may confidently be said that there is nothing small about him.[1] His choice of the site for the new city which was to arise under the United Order strikingly represents this characteristic.

Jackson County, in which Independence is situated, lies thirty-four degrees north latitude, and ninety-four degrees west longitude. It is, roughly speaking, almost equally distant from the eastern and western, the northern and southern boundaries of the United States. With Canada on the north, and Mexico on the south, it is centrally located for the whole North American continent. Further, taking into account the direction of flow of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, it becomes evident that it would be difficult to find a location of greater centrality or of easier accessibility for the whole western world, including North and South America, than is Independence, Missouri. The sacred city that Joseph Smith had in mind was evidently to be easy of access for a very wide territory.[2]

Consider again the thing that it was proposed to make a

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1 A number of discerning anti-Mormon writers share this view. For instance, Kennedy, on p. 183 of his *Early Days of Mormonism* (New York, 1888), says: "One cannot but admire the wonderful power of Smith in meeting each event as it came, and in fitting the circumstances of an extraordinary occurrence to his own purpose. Nothing was so unexpected that it could take advantage of him; and no truth was so mighty that it could unhorse him or put his imagination to shame." See also John Q. Adams', *The Birth of Mormonism* (Boston, 1916), p. 58.

2 There is evidence of practical insight, also. Not only is Independence (which in early Mormon contemplation embraced what is now Kansas City) a choice location, but the surrounding country is of splendid fertility. In 1920, Missouri ranked fourth among the states in the production of corn, yielding 198,000,000 bushels; seventh in the production of wheat, and eighth in hay. In 1909, she ranked eleventh as a producer of butter, cheese and milk. The mineral resources of Missouri are of considerable importance. The great deposits of disseminated lead in the southeastern part of the state, yielded 34% of the primary lead recovered from domestic ores in the United States in 1920, giving Missouri first rank among the lead-producing states. The Joplin lead region is also largely in southwestern Missouri. The state

beginning upon. Around Jerusalem, the holy city, clustered the traditions, the teachings, the laws and commandments of the Hebrew race. There the prophets raised their voices, oftentimes strong and defiant, against sin. There martyrs sometimes offered their all on the altar of principle. There the great Christ chose his disciples and performed his ministry. There the spiritual power and light which was to influence and largely to dominate the advanced races came into being. It was a holy city, towards which all Europe turned. But the disciple John, in far distant conception, pictured a city like which nothing had been known or thought of, and in comparison with which the great cities of modern times are but country villages. His New Jerusalem was to lie foursquare and was to measure 12,000 furlongs. Its walls were to be garnished with precious stones, while its streets, and the city itself, were to be of "pure gold like unto clear glass."[1]

Now the average mind, while finding it necessary to stretch itself somewhat in order to follow John in his description of this gigantic city which the distant future was to bring into existence, finds itself much farther out of depth when a man comes along and not only designates the spot, but says that the time has come to begin to build. According to Joseph Smith, the divine scheme called for a sacred city, the New Jerusalem—Zion—to be built in the new world.

A third item to which I desire to call attention illustrating the working of a virile intellect on the part of Joseph Smith, is the plan of economic organization which we are soon to study somewhat in detail. In Plato with his *Ideal Republic*, More with his *Utopia*, Bacon with his *New Atlantis*, and Owen with his *New Harmony*, we find a few of many efforts to evolve plans which would avoid the great evils and inequalities inherent in existing orders. Joseph Smith presents us with another plan which has come to be known among the Mormon people as the United Order. As in the choice of location and in the conception of the

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produces zinc, copper and silver which are of value in the order named. Stone is produced in large quantities, the 1919 output having a value of $2,190,884. Lime products in 1920 were valued at $2,319,285, which gave Missousi a ranking of third. Sand and gravel are found in many places. Coal in 1918, reached a production of 5,667,730 tons. In 1912, the estimated value of all the property in the state was $5,842,017,009, which gave her a ranking of ninth among the states of the Union whose combined wealth for that year was estimated at $187,739,071,090. Truly, the region is an inviting one; but the picture may still be enlarged. To the west and north are the corn and wheat belts, to the south, the cotton country, to the north and east the rich Ohio valley. Coal, Oil and Mineral ores of varied kinds abound. Forests, while gradually thinning, are still extensive. A great natural system of rivers and lakes offers opportunity for the deveopment of inland commerce. In short, extendng in every direction is the wonderful Mississippi valley, with its varied climate, fertile soils, and vast extent. Few, if any, areas of equal size upon the earth's surface are comparable with it in richness of soil, in mineral, oil, and coal resources, and in general adaptability, to man's needs. To these early Mormons, it was a part of "the promised land," a "land choice above all other lands." Here in the center of this valley was the new Zion to be built. For sheer breadth of conception, the choice of location has few parallels in history.

1 *Book of Revelations*, 21:10-27.

new Zion, so also in the United Order plan, there is considerable evidence of breadth of view; and what is still more important, one observes no small understanding of human nature.

Other Movements of the Time

That Joseph Smith was informed concerning current socialistic and communistic experiments, there can be no doubt.

As a young man Joseph Smith worked at Harmony, Pennsylvania,[1] the town which the Rappites first established in 1803, and where they prospered for eleven years before selling out in 1814 and removing to New Harmony, Indiana, where they succeeded as before. It was in Harmony, Pennsylvania, that Joseph Smith became acquainted with, and married, Emma Hale.[2] She no doubt, knew the history of the Rappites. It was here, also, in the house of Emma Hale's father, that a part of the Book of Mormon is purported to have been translated.[3] These same Rappites, after selling out New Harmony, Indiana, to Robert Owen, in 1825, established another successful communistic community at Economy, Ohio. So successful were they that in 1832 they were able to raise $105,000 in cash, within nine months, in order to buy out the holdings of Muller and his associates.[4] Down to the present day they have maintained on the whole, a prosperous, though small community at this place[5]

The Shaker communities, beginning with Waterliet, N. Y., in 1774, had gradually increased to eighteen by 1830. These were scattered through New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana—country which was well known to Joseph Smith. These celebrated communists with agriculture as a basic industry, were the oldest, and in some ways, the most successful, of all practical communists. While they did not become wealthy, they thrived.[6]

The Society of Separatists, at Zoar, Ohio, a German community, established themselves in 1817, but did not become communists until 1819. They forbade marriage until 1828, after which it was gradually introduced. In communism they slowly prospered. In 1874 they numbered 300 members and their property was worth $1,000,000. The community organization was abandoned Sept. 20, 1898, and the property divided, each in-

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1 Joseph and Heman Smith, *Church History* (Lamoni, Ia., 1897), vol. 1, p. 17.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

3 *Ibid*, p. 23.

4 Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York, 1895), pp. 77-80.

5 Hinds, *American Communities* (Chicago, 1908), pp. 75-83.

6 Nordhoff, *op.cit.*, pp. 117-132.

dividual receiving sufficient to place him in circumstances of comparative comfort.[1]

But it was the visit of Robert Owen, the English socialist and philanthropist, to the United States, in 1824, that first attracted the attention of the nation and imbued with fire and spirit plans for reform. Owen came not only with a message, but with money. He purchased the Rappite town of New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. In the course of his extended travels he delivered addresses in the Hall of Representatives before most distinguished audiences consisting of the President, the Judges of the Supreme Court and practically the full membership of both houses.[2] The public press gave him much attention. He engaged in debate. His ideas spread everywhere. Communities sprang up in many places; some of them being in Ohio.[3] Communism, not with a religious basis, had for the first time a national hearing. The year 1827 is said to represent the peak of Owenism. In the years immediately following all the attempts to establish communities under the direct influence of Owen met with failure.[4] The New Harmony community, which received the personal attention (somewhat interrupted, it is true) of Owen, encountered numerous difficulties and seemed destined to failure from the beginning. But while the experiments did not succeed, the impetus of the movement was such that its influence was felt long after.[5]

More immediately connected with the early Mormon movement were the efforts in communistic life of Sidney Rigdon's followers in Kirtland, Ohio. Having separated from the Baptist Church in which he had been a successful pastor at Pittsburg, Sidney Rigdon became a tanner, at which work he labored for two years. In 1826 he made his home in Bainbridge, Ohio. Here the people, knowing that he had been a preacher and an excellent speaker, invited him to speak, which he did. This marks the beginning of a labor which gradually grew until it included a number of towns covering considerable territory. Large congregations listened to him in the open air after the crowds became too large for the churches of these frontier communities. At Mentor, Ohio, a small, but rich, thriving place, he made his home,

1 Hinds' *op.cit.*, pp. 120, 130.

2 G. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Communities* (Marion, Ind., 1902), p. 87.

3 E. E. Erickson, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago, 1922), p. 17.

4 H. A. James, *Communism in America* (New York, 1879), pp. 15-16.

5 Groat, in his *Introduction to Organized Labor in America* (New York, 1916), pp. 25-26, says, concerning the influence of these movements: "Owen brought a message of universal brotherhood and preached it with great earnestness. Fourerism added to the strength of the current movement and led to the two notable experiments: New Harmony established under the immediate direction of Owen, and Brook Farm, an experiment more directly connected with the teachings of Fourier. In addition to these two, there were during the years that immediately followed, probably no less than two hundred other settlements in different parts of the country. None of them proved to be long lived. Their influence, however, was more enduring, continuing for a quarter of a century or more."

and grew in favor with the people. At Kirtland, Ohio, a few miles distant a small group of his followers lived as a family and had "all things in common."

It was at this time, 1830, that Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson, while on their way to Missouri, stopped for a short time in Mr. Rigdon's vicinity. He received them kindly, having previously known Parley P. Pratt, and allowed them to preach to his congregation. He also invited them to stay at his home. They presented him with a Book of Mormon which he proceeded to read. In the meantime they preached to the communists at Kirtland. Most of the group became converted and seventeen were baptized. At first Rigdon was displeased, but a few days later he himself, and also his wife, joined the church. Having established a small branch of twenty members, the elders continued their journey to Missouri.[1] By February, 1831, about one thousand "saints" had "gathered" to Kirtland to make their homes. During this time the little "family" group continued their "common stock" plan. Joseph Smith, now at Kirtland, prevailed on them to abandon it in favor of the United Order. To quote his own words "The plan of 'common stock' which had existed in what was called 'the family' whose members generally had embraced the everlasting gospel, was readily abandoned for the more perfect law of the Lord."[2]

The church plan is neither joint stock nor communistic, as will appear more fully later. It appears rather unwarranted, therefore, to infer, as many have done,[3] that Joseph Smith borrowed it from Sidney Rigdon's experiment. Joseph Smith could not have helped being informed, years previously, about many of the communistic efforts that were being made. That in the large, they impressed his fertile mind, that the sweeping movement of Owenism stirred him, that the Rigdon "family" may have been the immediate situation which made the problem eminent, would be more logical deductions. Social events, like men, are not often born out of their time.

Under such conditions, then, when ideas of social reform were rife, when a great communistic, non-religious movement was sweeping the country, when religious communistic societies were practically demonstrating that success could attend their systems, Joseph Smith, almost on the crest of the wave, stepped forward and presented to his people what he claimed to be a revelation from God concerning their temporal affairs.[4]

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1 *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Ill., 1839-46), vol. 4, p. 172.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 368.
3 *cf.* I. W. Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902), pp. 307, 314.
4 Other well-known efforts to organize society, such as the Fourier movement, the Sunny Brook Farm Experiment, the Oneida community, the Icarians, the Aurora and Bethal communes, etc., came somewhat later than the period 1831-34, and could not, therefore, have influenced Joseph Smith.

PART I—THE UNITED ORDER IN OPERATION

CHAPTER II

Leadership

In any organized effort able leadership is a primary necessity; in a community undertaking involving the changes that the United Order requires no one thing is, perhaps, quite so important. The men specifically mentioned in the July, 1831, revelation are Edward Partridge, Sidney Gilbert, Oliver Cowdery, and W. W. Phelps.[1] To this number were soon added John Whitmer, Martin Harris, Isaac Morley, and John Corrill.[2] These men were members of two governing bodies: a council, or committee of Seven High Priests, and a Bishopric of three members. The Seven High Priests were: Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, Sidney Gilbert, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley and John Corrill.[3] The last three named also constituted the Bishopric.[4] They were, therefore, members of both bodies. There are a number of reasons why Bishop Partridge, with the help of his two counsellors, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, came to occupy an important place in the affairs of Independence. By right of his bishopric he presided over public meetings. His duty it was to care for the poor who were many. The receiving of consecrations of property and the dividing of inheritances were most vital matters in which all were interested; and this work was the bishop's special calling. On the other hand, the Council of "Seven High Priests sent up from Kirtland" had imposed upon them the general task of "building up Zion." Under the rather poor leadership of Oliver Cowdery, this body of men did not function very satisfactorily. While it was their special duty to develop policies, promote harmony, and exercise general control they accomplished but little in any of these lines. Instead, a considerable amount of ill-will and dissatisfaction maintained among them during almost all of the Independence period.[5]

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 57, *passim.*

2 In addition to these men, ten High Priests were appointed on April 11, 1833, to "watch over" the ten branches of the Church in Zion. But since the process of expulsion was already under way these men had practically no part as leaders in directing the United Order effort. See *Times and Seasons,* vol. 5, p. 850.

3 *Millenial Star* (Manchester, later Liverpool, England, 1840-1923), vol. 14, p. 387.

4 Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (St. Louis, 1839) pp. 17-18.

5 See chapter on Difficulties Within.

As individuals, however, they accomplished good work in the particular fields assigned to them. Sidney Gilbert, an able business man, was chosen to keep the Lord's Store House, to establish a store, and to act as agent in purchasing land.[1] John Whitmer was appointed historian for the church.[2] W. W. Phelps became the church printer, whose duty it was to issue the *Evening and Morning Star,* the *Book of Commandments,* and other church literature.[3] Oliver Cowdery was appointed assistant printer.[4] Bishop Partridge and his counselors were to be fathers to the people in spiritual as well as in temporal things, having the special duty, as already indicated, of bringing out a property re-distribution.

In April, 1832, a third body of control, the Central Council, was organized. Joseph Smith, Newel K. Whitney, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris were members of this board. They were "to manage the affairs of the poor, and all things pertaining to the Bishopric, both in the land of Zion and the land of Shinehah (Kirtland)".[5] The first three named of this group, lived at Kirtland, Ohio, while the last two lived in Independence. This arrangement gave Kirtland the chairman and the majority of the board and thus made it possible to function with the help of letters without bringing all the members together for every decision that had to be made. Such practical matters obviously had to be given consideration, for the journey between these two Church centers was about one thousand miles, and the method of travel was slow. But the Independence leaders were disappointed in seeing the control of this central body, and with it the general control of the Order, go to Kirtland. Some effort was made to get Joseph Smith to move to Independence, but he was not willing to do so at that time. Soon after the organization of this board, the United Firm was established. Inquiry into the nature and operation of this firm will be reserved for the chapter on Special Undertakings.

Of the new men who were added to the groups of leaders by the creation of the Central Board, Newel K. Whitney was, from every business point of view, the ablest. Of agreeable and pleasant disposition and of proved business ability, he added strength and stability to the board. It is said of him that he seldom found himself on the wrong side of the market, and that he always preferred to pay a debt rather than contract one. Sidney Rigdon was not primarily a business man, but he was a man of ideas and of idealism, and was a strong convert to a program

1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. 57:6, 8-9.
2 *Ibid.,* Sec. 47:1-4.
3 *Ibid.,* Sec. 57:11-12.
4 *Ibid.,* Sec. 57:13.
5 *Ibid.,* Sec. 82:12.

of equality. Joseph Smith, the chairman and remaining new member, had exercised general direction of the Order from the beginning; but he had done so in the capacity of president of the Church, and not through holding any office in the Order. From now on, as chairman of the Central Board, he not only came to hold an office in the Order but was, henceforth, its head.

As an important human movement the Independence effort fell short in leadership.

We may be assured that incident to, and an essential part of, every genuine movement is the leader who emerges out of it. Parliamentary government must needs produce its Cromwell, the American revolution its Washington, the slavery struggle its Lincoln, the trust movement its Roosevelt. Matching new forces whose strength overcomes the old is the strength of the man who assumes to direct the troubled times of change. Insight, courage and strength are qualities he draws upon continuously.

From the standpoint of executive direction Zion did not produce a single real leader. Joseph Smith, who was the spiritual originator of the effort, lived a long way from Independence. In 1830 the river-boat and the stage coach were the principal means of travel between Kirtland and Independence. After the first preliminary visit, Joseph Smith came to Independence only once. Purposely it seems, he kept himself away and endeavored to leave the organization of the community in a somewhat open condition, thus making it easy for a natural leader to arise. This is evident from the fact that neither Bishop Partridge, who presided over the bishopric, nor Oliver Cowdery, who was the first named of the council of Seven High Priests, were given full local directive authority. A leader suited to the movement and to the times would have forged to the front. No such positive character appeared.

A great natural leader emerged out of the ranks of Mormonism a few years later, when the exodus was made into Illinois while Joseph Smith and a number of others were imprisoned in Liberty Jail, Missouri. This man was Brigham Young. The terrible conditions which surrounded the Mormons during the winter of 1838-39, when their enforced removal from Upper Mississippi was in progress, demanded prompt measures and efficient direction. In the absence of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young stepped into the breach and conducted the impoverished and scattered fugitives to a safe harbor in Illinois, and did so in a manner which gave distinct evidence of the possession of superb qualities of executive leadership. But it was under a capitalistic regime in which private initiative and strong inducement to action were paramount characteristics that Brigham Young found the conditions favorable to his genius as a leader. It was not as an apostle of economic equality, therefore, that he left his impress on

Mormon history, but rather as an organizer, a colonizer, and an administrator whose task it was to lead men who were unequal in physical and mental endowments and who secured unequal returns from their efforts.

Disappointed that a great leader suited to the times, and equal to the task was slow in making his appearance, Joseph Smith nevertheless recognized clearly that such leadership was necessary for the success of the United Order movement. On November 27, 1832, he made a prediction that the needed leader would appear. His language conveys a general idea of the qualities he seems to have considered essential to such a man:

> Yea, thus saith the still, small voice, which whispereth through and pierceth all things and often times it maketh my bones to quake while it maketh manifest, saying:
>
> And it shall come to pass that I, the Lord God, will send one mighty and strong, holding the sceptre of power in his hand, clothed with light for a covering, whose mouth shall utter words, eternal words; while his bowels shall be a fountain of truth, to set in order the house of God, and to arrange by lot the inheritances of the saints, whose names are found, and the names of their fathers, and of their children, enrolled in the book of the law of God:
>
> While that man, who was called of God and appointed, that putteth forth his hand to steady the ark of God, shall fall by the shaft of death, like a tree that is smitten by the vivid shaft of lightning;
>
> And all they who are not found written in the book of remembrance, shall find none inheritance in that day, but they shall be cut asunder, and their portion shall be appointed them among unbelievers, where are wailing and gnashing of teeth.
>
> These things I say not of myself; therefore, as the Lord speaketh, he will also fulfill.

The expected leader, it is clear, was to be known by his "might," "strength" and "power." He was to conduct his administration of public affairs in the open light of day, keeping nothing hid for he "clothed himself with light for a covering." Furthermore, by reason of a superior intellect he was to be informed not only concerning the fundamental, underlying principles of economic relationship, but he was to be acquainted also with the mainsprings of human association for "his mouth shall utter eternal words while his bowels shall be a fountain of truth." Power he was to possess, but he was to consider it a sacred trust to be used to equalize opportunity for all rather than to perpetuate the dominance of the few for he was to "wield the sceptre of power," "set in order the house of God," and "arrange by lot the inheritances of the saints."

Good men of substantial worth, were to be found in early Independence, but the kind of leader Joseph Smith sought for did not come to the front during the Missouri sojourn. In fact, the United Order yet awaits its leader.

Biographical sketches of the lives of Joseph Smith, Oliver

Cowdery, and Edward Partridge who were the respective heads of the Central Board, the Council of Seven High Priests and The Bishopric, will be found in the notes at the close of this chapter.

NOTES

Joseph Smith[1]

Joseph Smith was born December 23, 1805, in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont. As a boy of fourteen he proclaimed his first vision—a remarkable occurrence in a life which was crowded with most unusual happenings. By the time he had grown to manhood the *Book of Mormon* was ready for publication, and at the age of twenty-five he established or re-established, as he termed it, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During the next few years Mormon philosophy and the Mormon system of organization gradually unfolded itself by means of a considerable number of revelations, which he announced from time to time. He proclaimed a new gospel dispensation, called the "Dispensation of the Fullness of Times," in which was to be gathered together all previous dispensations, and the purpose of which was to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ, which event was to be a part of, and become the culmination of this final dispensation. As a preparation, the Gospel (Mormonism) was to be preached by an authorized ministry holding "the holy priesthood," to "every nation, kindred, tongue, and people." The "honest in heart" were to be gathered together. A new Holy City "Zion" was to be built and the Stakes of Zion were to be established in the surrounding country. All of North and South America were designated "the promised land" or Zion, but the City of Zion was to be located at Independence, Missouri. It was to be established under a United Order plan, embodying high principles of industrial equality and brotherly consideration. As this plan developed, the organization of the Mormon system also slowly took form. A First Presidency, a Bishopric, a High Council, the quorum of Twelve Apostles, quorums of Seventies, of Elders, of Priests, of Teachers, and of Deacons were organized. Wards began to be established, and stakes formed. Auxiliary organizations, such as the Relief Society, sprang into being. Mormon philosophy, largely determined in the first vision, came slowly to receive definiteness of outline: The human family are the children of God, and are like Him in stature and form, as well as in thought, feeling and action. All the qualities and talents which man possesses, in a poorly developed state, God has perfected. Christ is of man's "kith and kin," an elder Brother who has set the example and pointed out the way. Man had a pre-existence. He will live after death. The essential

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1 The material for the sketches of the lives of the three chief leaders of the United Order Movement, has been drawn from the following works:

Jensen, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1901).
Roberts, "*History of the Mormon Church*"—*Americana* (New York, 1909-15). vols. 4-10.
Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*. Period I. 6 volumes.
Joseph and Heman Smith, *Church History* (Reorganized) 2 volumes.
The Evening and Morning Star (Independence, 1832-34).
The Messenger and Advocate (Kirtland) 1834-37.
The Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, 1840-46).
The Millenial Star (Liverpool, 1840), also
Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1902).
Martin, *The Mystery of Mormonism* (London, 1920)
Caswell, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1843)
Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism* (New York, 1888)
Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York, 1890)
McKay, *The Mormons* (London, 1851)
Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902)

part of him is immortal. He, therefore, belongs to the race of the Gods. In due time, with particular dependence on this earth life, he will, as the eons of years roll on, gradually attain to the rank of Godship through eternal progression. God's chief interest and glory is to bring about the gradual ascent of man.

While these things were developing, Joseph Smith had a very unsettled life. Until 1831, he resided in New York and Pennsylvania. In that year he moved to Kirtland, Ohio. Here and in neighboring towns he resided for seven years. It was here that Mormonism was largely unfolded. The effort to establish "Zion" was made at Independence, Mo. Insurmountable opposition prevailed against it. For a short time he resided in Upper Missouri, where healthy, thriving Mormon communities were rapidly developing, but opposition again drove them from their holdings. Kindly received in Illinois, they gathered at Nauvoo, and built a beautiful and prosperous city. But the persecutions which caused Joseph Smith to be tried before courts numerous times, to spend many months in unhealthy jails, to be tarred and feathered, to suffer almost every indignity, and to be deprived of any feeling of bodily security, finally triumphed, and his life paid forfeit at the hands of a mob in June, 1844, for the things he had attempted to do.

Joseph Smith possessed leadership of high order. Evidence of this is found in a large following who were willing to do practically anything for him. He was resourceful. He possessed a broad grasp, which enabled him to apprehend quickly the fundamentals of almost anything he turned his attention upon. Community building, slavery, politics, industrial organization, education, literary pursuits, etc., received his attention, and a surprisingly keen insight was exhibited. In many ways he was what some would call an "opportunist", for he was willing to try almost anything from cashier to president, outside of his position as president of the church. He was too liberal to be a good business man, and too hopeful to guard properly against the risks and dangers incident to the ups and downs of business life.

In an age when scientific progress was considerable, Joseph Smith came forward with claims which rested entirely on a supernatural basis. the appeal was to faith. Few items of material evidence were presented for general inspection. A few only saw the plates, a few only saw heavenly messengers. As to whether this is God's way of dealing with the human family and if so, whether he made use of Joseph Smith for this purpose, constitute questions which the individual must decide. This modern prophetic claimant projected large designs with strong religious appeal. In the enthusiasm of the thing being done, the individual member tended to lose himself, and to lose sight of questions of control. From revelation there was little or no appeal to those who believed in the principle. The power which such a system gave to one who received revelations on so wide a range of subjects as did he, was great. Joseph Smith did not seek riches. From time to time he let excellent opportunities slip by in order to assist the poor and take care of those who were in need. Either he was a chosen messenger with a precious message, and in that case a much maligned and grossly mistreated man, or else he was an unscrupulous seeker after power, who used the most adroit means to obtain dominion over the minds of men.[1] There is no half way place for Joseph Smith.

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1 In view of this general analysis, one of the revelations of Joseph Smith has peculiar significance; "Behold, there are many called, but few chosen. And why are they not chosen? Because their hearts are set so much upon the things of this world, and aspire to the honors of men, that they do not learn this one lesson—

"That the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the power of heaven, and that the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness. That they may be conferred upon us, it is true;

Oliver Cowdery

Oliver Cowdery, who was born on October 3, 1806, at Wells, Rutland County, Vermont, spent his boyhood and youth in that county, mainly in the town of Poutney. About 1825, he moved to western New York, where he served as a blacksmith, a clerk in a store, and later as a school teacher. In 1828-29, while teaching school in Manchester, he made the acquaintance of the Smith family through boarding with them, according to the usual custom of boarding around among the patrons of the school. Becoming convinced of the genuineness of Joseph Smith's claim of having possession of the "Golden Plates", he accepted the task of acting as scribe while the translation was in progress. Later, he became one of the three witnesses to the *Book of Mormon,* and was the first named elder of the group who comprised the Lamanite mission. Likewise, although his particular task in Zion was to be assistant printer, his name comes first among the seven who were "to build up Zion"; and for at least part of the time he was regarded first among the leaders. As the writer of nearly all of the first *Book of Mormon* manuscript, as one of the three witnesses of that book, as a member of the first extensive mission in the church, and as a leader in the effort to establish Zion, Oliver Cowdery occupied a most prominent place in the early history of Mormonism. After the printing office was destroyed at Independence, he became the Editor of the *Evening and Morning Star* while it was published at Kirtland, and afterwards conducted the *Messenger and Advocate* at the same place. He became a member of the first High Council in the church, February 17, 1834, acting for a time as its clerk and later as its president. In February, 1835, he and the other two witnesses to the Book of Mormon chose and ordained the first Mormon quorum of Twelve Apostles. He became the first General Church Recorder September 4, 1835. On September 3, 1837, he was made Assistant Counselor to the First Presidency. Dissatisfied largely because of his heavy losses in Jackson County, he became somewhat embittered against Joseph Smith, and adopted some questionable methods of recouping himself. He was rejected as Clerk of the High Council, by the church at Far West, February 10, 1838, and on April 11, 1838, was tried before Bishop Partridge's court and expelled from the church. He lived for a time in Michigan, practicing law for a livelihood. While separated from the church he remained faithful to his *Book of Mormon* testimony. When the church was driven into the desert after the long series of drivings and losses of property, and when the prospect for Mormonism looked the worst, Oliver Cowdery came back and humbly sought re-admission into the church, in October, 1848, at Kanesville, Iowa. He was accepted. While getting ready to move to the West, he died at Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, on March 3, 1850.

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but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control, or dominion, or compulsion, upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is grieved and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man. . . . . No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the Priesthood, only by persuasion, by long suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned, by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy and without guile . . . . Let thy bowels also be full of charity toward all men, and to the household of faith, and let virtue garnish thy thoughts unceasingly, then shall thy confidence wax strong in the presence of God, and the doctrine of the priesthood shall distill upon thy soul as the dews from heaven. The Holy Ghost shall be thy constant companion and thy scepter an unchanging scepter of righteousness and truth. And thy dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and without compulsory means it shall flow unto thee for ever and ever."—*Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 121:34-*et.seq.*

Oliver Cowdery never exhibited the capacity to gather men around him, inspire them with confidence in himself, and at the same time to fire them with a proper conception of the importance of particular projects and draw from them the zeal and energy necessary to accomplish things in the manner which administrative work of high order requires. It cannot be said that he did not have opportunity; for he was listed first on the Council of Seven, and therefore, had he possessed the qualifications of leadership, he could readily have left an indelible impress on the course of events. He was also a member of the General Board, and was in a position to influence that body along lines connected with the actual work over which he was supposed to have charge. But he was not a natural executive and, therefore, exercised only a very moderate influence over these bodies. Because of such leadership, the Council of Seven appears not to have functioned as a strong body.

But as an individual, Oliver Cowdery was somewhat above the average in intelligence. He possessed an excellent command of English, and could defend a cause to good advantage. He was honorable and reasonably faithful, but was not wholeheartedly converted to the United Order.

Edward Partridge

Edward Partridge was born on August 27, 1793, in Pittsfield, Birkshire County, Massachusetts, and was of Scotch descent. He spent four years as an apprentice learning the hatter's trade, beginning at the age of seventeen. In 1828, while living at Painesville, Ohio, he became a member of the Church of the Disciples, through the preaching of Sidney Rigdon. In the fall of 1830, he joined the Mormon faith and was soon after called to be the first bishop of the church.

There is a general agreement in writings on early Mormon history, both friendly and unfriendly, that Edward Partridge was a man of remarkable honesty, uprightness and integrity. I quote the following:

"Smith had appointed, as his bishop, one Edward Partridge, a very honest and industrious hatter of Poinsville, Ohio, who had, withal, a comfortable stock of the good things of the world. He was stationed at Independence, and had the sole control of all the temporal and spiritual affairs of the colony—always obedient, however, to the revelations promulgated by Smith, who still sat perched upon his throne in Kirtland, with Rigdon and most of his family connections."[1]

Joseph Smith says of him:

"It was in December that Elder Sidney, a sketch of whose history I have mentioned, came to enquire of the Lord, and with him came that man, (of whom I will hereafter speak more fully) named Edward Partridge; he was a pattern of piety and one of the Lord's great men, known by his steadfastness and patient endurance to the end."[2]

At the time of his first visit to Independence, Bishop Partridge was admonished in the revelation of August, 1831, in the following language:

"And now as I spoke concerning my servant Edward Partridge; for behold, it is not meet that I should command in all things, for he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant; . . . verily, I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; for the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves; . . . But he that doth not anything until he is commanded, and receiveth a command with doubtful heart, and keepeth it with slothfulness, the same is damned . . ."[3]

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1 J. H. Hunt, *Mormonism* (St. Louis, 1844), p, 128.
See also Ezra Booth's letter No. 7 in Howe, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
2 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, No. 21, p. 320.
3 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, No. 5, pp. 448-49.

Bishop Partridge more than any other one man directed the actual operations at Independence. He was patient, generous, and strictly honest. He did not succeed in coordinating and welding together those who were engaged in executive work, nor in constructing effective administrative machinery. Rather, a lack of coordination becomes a noticeable characteristic.

During and followingng the exodus the good bishop worked earnestly to make lighter the burdens of his people. Unmindful of the considerable amount of property he had "consecrated" to the enterprise and of the ease with which he could have recouped himself when the crash came, he directed his attention to the welfare of the poor who were scattered on the open prairies with little shelter and less food. Whatever funds were in his possession, or could be gathered were used to assist them. He and his family emerged in very much reduced circumstances.[1] Following the later exodus from Missouri, he settled in Nauvoo, Illinois, where he died soon after in comparative poverty on May 27, 1840.

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1 At times Bishop Partridge grew a little weary. When Bhigham Young proposed to him in January, 1839, that he help the poor out of the state of Missouri, he said, "The poor may take care of themselves and I will take care of myself." To which Brigham Young replied, "If you will not help them out, I will," and he did in a masterly fashion, but Bishop Partridge also did all he could. See *Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 710.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS—OUTLINE OF THE PLAN—PROGRAM

Although as early as September, 1830, when the church membership consisted of but a handful of people, Joseph Smith had indicated that the gathering place was to be "on the borders of the Lamanites",[1] a definite site was not chosen until a rather careful exploration and examination of the western country had been made.

The Lamanite (Indian) mission, after establishing the Kirtland branch in the fall of 1830, continued its journey westward. The primary business of this mission was to place the *Book of Mormon* in the hands of the Indians. This book purported to be a history of the forefathers of the Indians, called Lamanites, and of their brethren, the Nephites, who were more highly civilized.[2] Just at this time various Indian tribes were being moved to the Indian territory, just west and south of Missouri.[3] It was but natural for the Indians to become somewhat excited over the appearance of such a book. It is easy, also, to see why the Indian agent should, in view of the unsettled conditions of the Indians, feel concern over the efforts of the mission. Finally, he ordered the missionaries out of the territory and they spent the winter at Independence.[4] From here letters were sent to Joseph Smith at Kirtland, informing him of the quality of the land and the character of the people. Parley P. Pratt returned in the spring and made a verbal report.[5]

In the meantime, during the winter and spring of 1831, some of the more important features of the United Order plan were set forth in a number of revelations, the most noteworthy of which was dated February, 1831. Characteristically early Mormon in its approach to the problem of private property, and surprisingly thorough-going in its method of attack on the problem of distribution, the plan as it was devised in the spring of 1831, may be outlined as follows:

1. The earth is the Lords.[6]
2. The people are stewards only over their possessions which are to be known as stewardships or inheritances, but

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 28.9.
2 *Book of Mormon*—Preface.
3 *Great Debates in American History,* vol. 8, p. 262.
4 Joseph Smith,*History of the Church Period I,* vol. 1, p. 185, footnote.
5 *Ibid.,* pp. 181-82.
8 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 38:17-18, 104:55-56.

each steward is to have a deed to his stewardship.[1]

3. Those who have surplus property, *i.e.*, more than is required to provide a frugal living for the family, are to consecrate it by deed to the church, for the benefit of the poor. Surplus production beyond family needs from each stewardship is to be turned over to the Bishop's Storehouse.[2]
4. The bishop is to apportion the inheritances among the people on the following basis:
   a. Equal according to their families.
   b. Equal according to their circumstances.
   c. Equal according to their wants and needs.[3]
5. Those who are either excommunicated from the church or themselves leave it, keep the inheritances deeded to them, but do not receive back the surplus that has been consecrated to the poor.[4]
6. In other respects, business relations are to be carried on in the usual manner under the competitive, capitalistic system. Simplicity, frugality, cleanliness, industry, and honesty are enjoined.[5]

It is evident that such an arrangement, if fully put into effect, would bring about a redistribution of property according to standards which emphasize a considerable degree of equality. The wage system would also be largely eliminated, for each steward would own enough property (when worked by him) to provide a living for his family. The plan is not communistic, although it has been so designated frequently, even by careful writers.[6] Private property is not merely an element of the plan, but is of basic importance. As already stated, each individual is expected not only to own personal belongings, but also enough income-bearing property to enable him to make a living. Unlimited property getting is thrown overboard, but so also is the great propertyless group who work for others. Both these classes are expected to largely go out of existence.

The month of February, 1831, moreover, is of interest to us because of the installation of Edward Partridge as the first bishop in the church.[7] His business it was to provide, or apportion, the stewardships among the people,[8] as well as to be their spiritual

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 42:32; 45:65; 51:4-5.
2 *Ibid.*, Sec. 42:32-34; *c.f.*, also 104:67-70.
3 *Ibid.*, Sec. 51:1-3.
4 *Ibid.*, Sec. 51:5.
5 *Ibid.*, Sec. 42:20-54.
6 *c.f.*, Ely, "Economic Aspects of Mormonism" *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1903.
7 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 41:9.
8 *Ibid.*, Sec. 51:3.

leader. Unlike the bishops of other Christian faiths, a Mormon bishop is a local, not a general, officer. He, along with his two counsellors, presides over a ward, which usually consists of from two hundred to five hundred people. In a real sense, he is supposed to know his people and to be a father to them. Associated with Edward Partridge in the bishopric of Zion were Isaac Morley and John Corrill. In many respects all three of these men possessed qualifications which fitted them for public responsibility. They were conscientious and honest. Isaac Morley had been formerly connected with Sidney Rigdon's communists at Kirtland, and both of the others had been strongly influenced by him. The conception of sharing alike was therefore not new to them. Such a selection of men appeared from every standpoint to be a wise one.

As the spring of 1831 wore on, further attention was given to the question of location. In June, the Western Mission, composed of approximately thirty elders, left Kirtland for Independence, Missouri.[1] They traveled by two, and each pair took a different route, preaching where opportunity afforded. A small group of six men and one woman accompanied Joseph Smith by boat. At St. Louis the Mormon leader and the more able-bodied members of the party disembarked and walked across the state, a distance of two-hundred-eighty miles, on foot. Arriving in mid-July they were welcomed by the Lamanite Mission and the newly arrived Colville Branch, which numbered about sixty members. Within the next few weeks isolated groups of elders from the Western Mission came in.[2] Appreciating that delay and consequent idleness would breed difficulty, Joseph Smith began vigorously on the work at hand without waiting for the majority of the elders who were laboriously making their way on foot through a new country over a distance of one-thousand miles. The important revelation of July contains the general features of the program which was to be put into operation. It may be outlined, in brief, as follows:[3]

1. The City of Zion is definitely located at Independence, Missouri.
2. The whole of the surrounding country, especially that "to the westward," is to be purchased.
3. Sidney Gilbert is to fill the office of agent, earlier assigned to him, and receive "monies" and "purchase land for the saints." He is also "to establish a store" and with the profits arising is to assist in "purchasing lands."

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1 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 181 *et seq.*

2 Nine elders only were present at the conference held at Independence, August 2, 1831. c. f. *Far West Record*, p. 8.

3 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 57.

4. Edward Partridge is to "stand in his office" and divide the "inheritances."
5. W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery are to be "printers to the church."
6. The bishop and the agent are to make preparation for those and their families who have been "commanded to come to Zion."[1] The "residue" of elders and members are to await further instructions.

The revelations of August 1st, 7th, 8th, and 12th, all announced during this first visit to Independence, contain additional items.[2]

7. No one is break the laws of the land.
8. The law of consecration, *i.e.*, the United Order, is to apply to all who receive an inheritance in Zion. Martin Harris, a man of some wealth, is asked to set the example.
9. The elders of the church are not, in the main, to receive inheritances for some time to come; but are to "push the people together from the ends of the earth."
10. An agent is also to be appointed in Ohio "to receive monies to purchase lands in Zion."
11. The manner of life the people of Zion are expected to live is enumerated by way of commandment.
12. The route for the "saints" to take in "journeying to Zion" is to be by land rather than by water.

The formulation of this program was of considerable significance. It is to be observed that the site for the chosen city has now been made definite,[3] general arrangements and plans to effect its building have been made, and the leaders have been chosen who are expected to bring to consummation the great task. Further, the manner of life which should maintain among those who are to live in the city is elaborated. High moral considerations abound. Not only was an effort to be made to establish higher equality, but the laws of the land were to be observed and the rights of others respected. Only those outside of Mormonism who neither wished to sell their lands nor live neighbors with the new comers could well find grounds for objection. Within

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1 These men were: Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, the last two being counsellors to Bishop Partridge. c.f. *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 57-61 *passim*.

2 *Ibid.*, Sec. 58, 59, 60 and 61.

3 Jackson County was highly rated by people generally at this time. Alphonzo Wetmore, for instance, in his *Gazeteer of the State of Missouri*, says: When the settlements in Jackson were at first commenced, it is remembered that a rage for that quarter pervaded the whole emigrating world; and for several years, when movers with the most substantial equipment were questioned on the road as to their destination, they uniformly answered, "Up to the Blues."

the ranks of the founders of the new order the big majority saw in the program further evidence of divine origin.

On one matter, however, serious questionings arose. The people had had no part in the formulation of the program, in the selection of the location of the city, nor in the choice of men for leadership. All these things, so commonly taken care of by the American pioneers who had been building towns and cities for generations, had come in the form of revelations through Joseph Smith. Was Joseph Smith seeking for undue power? With some misgivings and mutterings, but on the whole, ready to go ahead, the missionaries began the return journey to Kirtland on the Missouri, in sixteen canoes, on August 9, 1831, leaving Bishop Partridge to hold conference with the rest of the Western Mission when they should arrive.[1] With the slow means of travel which prevailed in frontier America in the early thirties, it would be late fall before they could return with their families to establish homes.

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1 Linn, *Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1902), p. 168; also *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 64.

CHAPTER IV

PURCHASING LANDS

With the return of the Council of Seven High Priests in the fall of 1831, the United Order began to function. The intention, according to the "program", was to purchase the holdings of all of the old settlers, who would sell, in Independence, and in the surrounding country, particularly to the west, and also to buy government land within this district when it should be offered for sale. When this program was formulated it is doubtful if there were as many as three hundred families in the Church, and the big majority of these were poor. But new converts were being made daily and, since there was considerable vigor in the new church, it was hoped that the necessary money would be forthcoming in due time.

The temple site, with quite a large tract surrounding it, containing 63 acres, was purchased outright for the church by Bishop Partridge, in 1831.[1]

The land for the members was purchased largely through the agent, Sidney Gilbert. Fortunately, a considerable body of government land was located in Jackson County, and this land was opened up for sale soon after the Mormons arrived. The act of Congress of March 6, 1820, authorizing the formation of a constitution and a state government for Missouri, provided also for the setting aside of one entire township (46.080 acres). This land was to be used solely for the benefit of a seminary of learning. It was to be designated by the President, and was to be vested in the state legislature. The commissioner who made the selection for the President of the seminary lands annoyed the early settlers by making large selections in Jackson County. Here the early settlers had simply located on land which was new and had never been in the market. The location of the seminary lands in Jackson County (then a part of Lafayette County), was therefore an annoyance to these people, since a large amount of land was thrown out of the market. However, on December 31, 1830, the General Assembly passed on act providing for the sale of these lands, after six months notice, at a price not less than

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1 Jensen and Stevenson, *Infancy of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1889), p. 6. This interesting piece of ground is now owned by a number of different parties, but the temple site itself is in the possession of the Hendrickites, whose abstract of title, costing $50.00 shows, however, some breaks in the chain. They have, no doubt, as good a title as can be procured. c.f., *supra*, p. 6.

$2.00 per acre.[1] Sales were made of seminary, and also of public lands in the fall of 1831, at Independence, Palmyra, and Benton.[2] An act passed January 17, 1831, provided for the division of 80 acres of seminary lands adjoining Independence into lots, and for their sale at auction no lot of one acre or less to be sold for less than $10.00, nor any lot of more than one acre for less than $5.00 per acre.[3] Sales of seminary lands were also made in 1833. After May, 1835, they were disposed of by private entry in the same manner and for the same price as United States lands were disposed of "in sections, half sections, quarter sections, half quarter sections, or quarter quarter sections."[4] The receipts in the state Treasury having reached $70,000, the legislature of 1838-39 proceeded to find a location for the State University, or Seminary of learning.[5] Five commissioners were appointed, and on June 24, 1839, these men located the University at Columbia, Boone County, that county having made the largest bid.[6]

Through their purchase of seminary lands, the Mormons thus assisted in providing the initial funds which brought about the establishment of the University of Missouri.

During this period the National Government was disposing of its public lands in blocs as small as 80 acres at $1.25 per acre. The terms were for cash, but were very much in the interest of the purchaser. Indeed, the period 1820-1841 is sometimes designated under the caption "Sales to suit Purchaser." Either large or small areas could be purchased. The unit of areas had gradually been reduced, says Mr. Leifur Magnusson:

> "From township and eight section areas to single sections (640 acres), half sections (320 acres), quarter sections (160 acres), and half quarter sections (80 acres). This reduction was intended to encourage the taking of small holdings and to attract the individual settler. The price was reduced from the prevailing one of $2.00 per acre to $1,25. The sales were both public and private and payment was by cash. They were consummated without special proclamation and proceeded after the fashion of ordinary private real estate transfers."[7]

Clearly then, with good seminary lands at $2.00 per acre and public lands at $1.25 per acre, no great amount of capital was necessary in order to get a foothold.

While the idea of buying up all the surrounding country was not lost sight of, it was but natural because of the poverty

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1 *Laws of Missouri*, p. 37.
2 C. R. Barnes and others: *Commonwealth of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1887), pp. 22, 252-53.
3 *Laws of Missouri*, 1830, p. 92.
4 *Laws of Missouri*, 1835, pp. 576-77.
5 *Ibid.*, 1838-39, pp. 173-87.
6 *cf.*, Alphonzo Wetmore's *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St Louis, 1837), p. 93.
7 Leifur Magnusson, *Disposition of Public Lands in the United States with Particular Reference to Wage Earning Labor* (Washington, 1919), p. 10—a Department of Labor publication.

of the early Mormons to direct attention to the purchase of new land from the Government, which was not only cheap, but was better land than much of that owned by the old settlers, who had largely selected the wooded hillsides for their homes.[1] The Mormons filled up the open spaces rapidly, a considerable number establishing homes on the Big Blue River. Some were too poor to buy any land and simply settled as "squatters" on the public land, expecting ultimately to purchase their holdings.[2] But this arrangement was anything but satisfactory to the old settlers, as is elsewhere fully explained; and it became evident to the Mormon leaders that the vitally important thing was to buy out the improved lands.[3] To accomplish this, help must be had from the church membership in the branches located in the states farther east. Many of these people were comfortably situated with homes and farms. Would they be willing to sell out and buy in Jackson County? Some of them no doubt were willing, but they required time, in which to make satisfactory sales of their property. Others held back. It became a question whether the church could, with the aid of those who had means, and supplemented by the work of the elders who daily made converts, raise sufficient money to buy out the old settlers before the rising wrath of these people made conflict inevitable. The conflict came. During the winter and spring of 1833-4 efforts were made to raise enough men and enough money in the East to handle the situation. But on short notice only small sums could be secured. Possibly some felt that under the conditions which maintained there at that time Missouri was an unsafe place in which to invest their money. At any rate the amounts raised were small. For instance, at a meeting at Kirtland, Ohio, April 17, 1833, $29.68 was donated; on April 21, 1834, at a conference at New Portage, Ohio, $66.37 was gathered: while at another meeting at Kirtland, about the last of April, $251.60 was turned over. When Zion's Camp left for Missouri, a considerable amount of provisions, consisting of food and clothing, was taken along for the exiled members in Missouri.[4] But when it come to the big test of purchasing the old settlers' possessions on the terms submitted by them on June 16, 1834,[5] the Mormons were utterly unable to do so. They needed more time.

Some purchases of land were made in Kirtland, in 1833, which must be taken account of here, for the reason that this property was secured as a part of the United Order effort. The *Millenial Star* contains the following account of these farms:

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1 See Linn, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-2; also Roberts, *op.cit.*, vol. 5, p. 607.
2 Caswell, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-4.
3 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 63:25-29.
4 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, pp. 1073-4.
5 For further particulars concerning those terms see Chapter XII.

"November 23 (1833)—A council was called for the purpose of appointing a committee to purchase land in Kirtland, upon which the saints might build a Stake of Zion. Brothers Joseph Coe and Moses Daily were appointed to ascertain the terms of sale of certain farms; and Brother Ezra Thayre to ascertain the price of Peter French's farm. The brethren agreed to continue in prayer and fasting for the ultimate success of their mission.

"After an absence of about three hours, Brothers Coe and Daily returned and reported the Elija Smith's farm could be obtained for four thousand dollars; and Mr. Morley's for twenty-one hundred; and Brother Thayre reported that Peter French would sell his farm for five thousand dollars. The council decided to purchase the farms, and appointed Ezra Thayre and Joseph Coe to superintend the purchase; and they were ordained under the hands of Sidney Rigdon, and set apart as general agents of the church for that purpose."[1]

The published accounts are vague as to whether the first two of these were actually bought at the time or not, but the French farm was purchased, as was also a tannery from Arnold Mason. The farm was obtained principally because of the stone quarry on it and the facilities it afforded for the making of brick.[2] On April 2, F. G. Williams was appointed to act as agent in employing and supervising men in the brick yard, and also to rent the farm.[3] The disposition of the farm gave some perplexity, and finally, in June, direction was given in a "revelation" to divide it into inheritances.[4] After the expulsion from Jackson County, it was decided to consider the property at Kirtland separate from that at Independence, and those who belonged to the Order in the former community were given small inheritances.[5]

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1 *Millennial Star*, vol. 14, p. 887.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 388.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 388.
4 *Millennial Star*, vol. 14, p. 437.
5 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104.

CHAPTER V

PROVISION FOR THE PUBLIC MINISTRY

To find some means of providing for those who gave their entire time to the ministry, and to take care of the worthy poor who joined the church in large numbers, constituted serious problems in the early days of Mormonism. Great financial difficulties attended the translation and publication of the Book of Mormon. Only through the generosity of the few who became impressed with Joseph Smith's efforts was it possible to proceed. Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and the Whitmers were among those who gave most assistance. After the organization of the church it became evident enough that those who were required to devote all of their time to the ministry would have to be provided for in some manner, though how was not clear; for tithing had not yet been instituted, and sporadic gifts from a poor and not very numerous people were entirely inadequate. During the years 1830-32, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon found it very difficult to continue their ministry without sufficient funds. The church had no regulations as to contributions, and the new members were somewhat backward in making voluntary donations. The families of the elders who were absent on missions were often, also, in need. While the church expected the elders who constituted the "foreign ministry," and performed missions, to serve without any financial recompense, it was soon apparent that the church must not allow the families of these men to suffer while they were away. Besides there were some elders who needed help. Under these circumstances, on Oct. 11, 1831, David Whitmer and Reynolds Cahoon were appointed a committee to instruct the branches of the church "with the further duty on their mission of setting forth the condition of Brothers Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon, that they might obtain means to continue the 'translation'."[1] The United Order plan had taken account of the poor, and also of the Bishop and his counsellors who were to administer the order, but no provision had yet been made for the higher authorities of the church, who at this time were not very numerous, as the quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Council of Seventies had not yet been organized. To provide for the higher authorities it was decided at a conference, held on Nov. 12, at Hiram, Ohio, that the *Book of Commandments*—10,000 of which were to be printed—was to be constituted a stewardship

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[1] "Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 219," also footnote pp. 219-20.

to be managed by Joseph Smith, Jr., Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and Sidney Rigdon. W. W. Phelps was added to the number in the "revelation" of November, 1831. These men were to reap whatever benefits came from the sale of the "sacred writings", but were to turn into the treasury any surplus that might arise into the Storehouse.[1] Since it took time to print these books, (the first issue was not completed at the time of the exodus) and since the church leaders and their families must live, it was decided that the mercantile establishment should support the Literary Firm.[2]

A few, who owned no property, but who either had some part as church leaders or had materially assisted Joseph Smith, were granted stewardships as the following decision, which was arrived at by a small conference, held at Hiram, Ohio, will indicate:

"In consequence of the families of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer Hyrum Page, and David Whitmer in administering to their wants in temporal things and also the labors of Samuel H. Smith, Peter Whitmer, Jr., William Smith and Don Carlos Smith—voted by this conference that the above named brethren be remembered to the bishop in Zion as being worthy of inheritance among the people of the Lord according to the laws of the said church.[3]

Some small amount of the early consecrations was used to assist the leading elders, as is evident from the following extract of a "revelation" given on the first visit of Joseph Smith to Independence: "And let my servant, Edward Partridge, impart of the money which I have given him, a portion unto mine elders who are commanded to return; and he that is able, let him return it by way of the agent, and he that is not, of him it is not required."[4]

When, in the spring of 1832, the central board consisting of Joseph Smith, Newel K. Whitney, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, and Martin Harris was established in order to manage the "common affairs" of the Order at Kirtland and Independence, it was also arranged that, since these men would be devoting their time to the work of the Order, they should have their wants supplied by the Order.[5] There was considerable general business that needed attention and, therefore, this arrangement was a simple solution of the problem.

Concerning the elders who were engaged in the ministry, either within the church or abroad, and who were in need of help,

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1 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 236, also footnote on same page.

2 Letter of the Presidency to the "Brethren in Zion," June 25, 1833, published in *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, p. 801.

3 *Far West Record*, p. 19. See also footnote "*Joseph Smith, op.cit.*, p. 236."

4 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 10-11.

5 *Ibid.*, Sec. 82:13.

it was arranged that the new bishop of Kirtland should supply them, and that he in turn should be recompensed by the Bishop in Zion.[1] Thus the church, through the Order at the center stake, would be responsible for the support of the travelling ministry who could not support themselves. Families of these men, naturally, were included in this arrangement.

It follows, therefore, that in addition to the caring for the numerous poor within her own borders, the new Zion was called upon to sustain that portion of the ministry which could not support itself.

Later, when financial undertakings at Kirtland began to go from bad to worse, the members of the Literary Firm met in council and decided that Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery should try to raise means to purchase land in Zion for the benefit of the Council, and "that Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams should, with the available stock on hand, the claims due and by such other means as they deemed proper, try to discharge the company's debts. It was also agreed "that W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, and David Whitmer have 500 books of *Doctrine and Covenants* and 500 hymn books, and that Messrs Phelps and John Whitmer be released from the responsibility of all claims on them or either of them as joint partners in the Firm."[2]

By 1838 every devised support for the ministry had practically failed. Little was realized from the Literary Firm, the General Board could not function—for the United Order had almost ceased to exist at the time of the exodus—and the stores at Independence and Kirtland, operated, in part, as supports for the Literary Firm, had either been destroyed, as at Independence in 1833, or had come to failure, as at Kirtland in 1837-8. When Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon moved to Far West in 1838, the High Council at that place, appreciating their situation, instructed the bishop to deed to each of them "an 80 acre lot adjacent to the city corporation" and in addition agreed "to pay them $—— for their services this year."[3]

On July 8, 1838, the law of tithing was announced, and a little later, on the 18th of the same month, a "revelation" placed the control of tithing in the hands of the First Presidency, the Bishop and his Council, the High Council, and "by mine own voice unto them."[4] From this time on not only was there little difficulty in taking care of the public ministry, but funds began to be available with which to launch out into the many educational, industrial, and social fields with which the Mormon church has concerned itself.

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 72:8-15.
2 *Millennial Star,* vol. 15, p. 728-29.
3 *Ibid.,* vol. 16, p. 152.
4 *Millennial Star,* vol. 16, p. 183.

Observations Touching Economic Considerations with Regard to These Actions

The financial situation of most of the church leaders was anything but desirable during the period under consideration. The plan of providing a joint stewardship for them out of the publication and sale of the *Book of Commandments* was no doubt, a good one. Little fault could be found with the use of the mercantile establishment to assist this "Literary Firm" as it was called. All would, no doubt, agree that the system must find a way to care for those who gave all their time to its service. Moreover, these men were responsible for the *Book of Commandments,* and the church membership would, therefore, lose nothing through the arrangement.

It was an easy way for the church to provide for its leaders. The effect on those of wealth who contemplated joining the United Order must have been favorable It was a very great advance over the method, which was apparently but little used, of having Bishop Partridge supply funds from consecrations For if these consecrations were to be used to provide a living for church leaders instead of being re-divided into stewardships, confusion could not but follow. While it was the duty of the church membership to provide for its leaders, and although such provision might be made to come out of consecrations, it would have been a most unwise method of accomplishing the desired result. What the United Order as a plan of economic organization needed, was a definite understanding of just what was to be done with consecrations.[1] A practice of using them for such purposes as the one under discussion would have destroyed the confidence which was so vitally needed. Men of wealth would certainly have been deterred from joining. While apparently very little of the funds were so used, the fact that some were used at the very beginning to assist on the way back from the first journey, must have had a bad effect and was probably one of the chief causes underlying the dispute which arose on the journey down the Missouri.

When the levelling up features of the United Order are fully taken into consideration, it is but natural to expect that some who have nothing at all will be given an "inheritance." Such, for instance, were the eleven families who were recommended by the Hiram Conference, for stewardships. But the presence of very many members of this kind in the Order would be very certain to make men of means feel fearful. At the beginning in Missouri the poor were considerable in number and the well-to-

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1 *cf.*, Carver, "Nothing so discourages industry and enterprise as uncertainty as to what other men are likely to do." *Principles of National Economy* (Boston, 1921), p. 74.

do naturally held back to see if the average would not improve so that all could be assured of a comfortable "inheritance", but the poor increased in numbers and the wealthy declined to dissipate their savings.

There is a tendency observable here, through these transactions, to lose sight of the economic motive. It may be laid down, as a safe postulate, that no plan of economic organization will permanently succeed which does not make basic strong economic motives for the individual. To be more specific, each individual has private interests and public interests. In both he is interested. As population grows, each individual's public interests tend, in the main, to grow rather more rapidly than do his private interests. Both grow as population and wealth increase. The United Order, by means of stewardships, places the essential private interests of the individual in his own hands. The economic motive is the making of a living for himself and family. There is no stronger economic motive known. With respect to public interests it is presumed that the civil organization would largely take care of these. Education, recreation, including parks, local transportation, communication, public health, public buildings, etc., would be among the things thus administered. They would be maintained through taxation and would be counted a part of the expenses of the individual steward in the operation of his stewardship. Other public interests of a religious nature, such as the building of temples and churches, etc., would be maintained, presumably, through donation, as has always been the custom in the church. The maintenance of the church and of the ministry could well be handled through the retention of the principle of tithing. What, then, is to be done with the surplus that goes into the treasury from those stewardships which produce a surplus? Is it to go into new stewardships for the benefit of the poor of other communities who might desire to "come to Zion"? By no means. The retention of desirable and necessary economic motives demands that the "surplus" be under the control of the members of the Order in the particular community involved. Under this arrangement the surplus would be used as capital to strengthen and enlarge the stewardships, to the end that the whole community might grow wealthy, if by any chance the effort proved successful. How, then, it may be asked are the poor of the community to obtain stewardships? Wherein is the leveling up to be? The answer is, through the consecrations. The consecrations, and the dividing of the inheritances into large or small stewardships, depending on the average size of the consecrations, is an entirely different branch of the Order from the treasury which contains the surplus. The former brings about a re-distribution of wealth, and provides

for the poor who belong to the community; the latter is made up of the surplus yield of the stewardships, and constitutes a barometer of the success of the Order. After the stewardship has been established there are two things in which the steward has a vital economic interest: his stewardship, and the surplus. If the surplus is handled by anybody other than the stewards of the community concerned, themselves, sound economic motives would be disregarded.

Again, local autonomy is a very important consideration in preserving economic motives. If there were a number of different units or communities belonging to the Order, some problems would present themselves which would require unified direction by general officers. But a certain amount of local autonomy is just as essential. To be specific, let us suppose that 1000 men with their families conclude to build a community under United Order provisions. Some are wealthy, some poor, while the majority are of moderate circumstances. When the consecrations are made and the stewardships are divided it is found that the average property value is relatively high, let us say $5,000 per stewardship. Under these circumstances the standard of living in the community would be high and if circumstances proved favorable to the Order, would tend to become higher. Suppose that the poor of other communities, in large numbers, apply for admission to this Order; and that the old members are powerless to forbid their entrance; or suppose that any other body than the 1000 who were members could determine as to whether these people should be admitted or not. From an economic standpoint such a lodgment of authority would not be desirable.

The United States, after many years of most unprofitable experience, has found it necessary to adopt stringent immigration laws. In like manner each United Order community must protect itself by proper regulations, governing membership to the end that the older members may be properly protected. Whatever gains accrue as a result of the industry of the stewards should be vouchsafed to the good of the community, and should not be allowed to become dissipated through ill-considered idealism. Poverty is a world old problem that has defied solution up to the present time. To concentrate and make cumulative the difficulty by congregating the poor together would be to foredoom any economic system to failure. Progress is slow. It comes through the application of effort along particular, definite lines. Seldom, if ever, does it come through unwise altruism. What a step forward it would be if a whole community, through staying close to economic fundamentals, and in consequence of intelligent leadership and industrious effort, could establish a high degree of industrial equality and at the same time gradually increase the

standard of living of each steward as the whole community grew in wealth. It would be soon enough to consider the question of gathering the poor of other communities after eliminating poverty from within. He who attempts to jump too far must expect to land in the ditch.

It must be concluded, therefore, in view of such considerations, that the action of the Hiram, Ohio, conference in attempting to handle at all the question of admission to the Order of those who, however worthy, were without property was economically unwise and tended to bring about dissatisfaction at Independence.

The establishment of the Central Board was a necessary step in the evolution of the United Order. Placing the general authorities of the church on this board was an easy and simple means of providing a way to take care of the material requirements of a number of them, which was a highly desirable and necessary thing to have done. It is open to serious question, however, as to whether the general authorities of the church who are concerned primarily with spiritual things are well constituted to do the work which such a board ought to do. The field which a central board should operate in is a highly important, but a confined one. There are certain general considerations which would affect different communities or units of the Order which such a board would be concerned with. It would also be in a position to gather material, develop statistics, and make general plans of production. Able and expert men, conversant with world conditions, the status of the various markets, and the prospect of increasing or declining production in particular lines, would be the kind of men who could do good service on such a board. Such men could not be found in this early period of church history. Practical considerations (large consecrations by these men) probably made it advisable to select such men as Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery. By concerning itself within the field which the local autonomy of the units should embrace, it would be an easy matter for a central board to wreck a system. For there is a big field which the unit itself must handle, and there are many questions which it alone should decide.[1] Joseph Smith himself was not well qualified to direct a business enterprise, as experience proved. There is much to be said in favor of a central board selected because of fitness rather than because of high position in the church.

A policy has developed in recent years in the church which is full of promise. Able men in various fields of endeavor have been chosen to the apostleship and have then been assigned direction over the particular field for which their training and ex-

[1] Recognition of the principle of local autonomy is found in *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec., 51:10-11, where the Thompson Branch was directed to be organized.

perience have fitted them. Such a division of labor makes it possible to organize each field, and at the same time retain church control and direction of the work. Able men can be made use of under such an arrangement, and with their help greater progress becomes possible.

From a Central United Order Board with such an apostle at the head of it and with men qualified in different fields making up the balance of the Board, much might be expected. A man widely informed on the question of markets, one who could organize the field of markets, would qualify for membership on a board so organized; a man who knows the cycle, whose ear is keyed to the hints and warnings of rising and falling prices and who knows how to raise the trough of depressions and to lower the crest of inflated values, would be a logical member; a man acquainted with the problems of labor, who knows how to organize the labor market and who appreciates the wastes of labor turnover and the advantages of steady employment, would also find an attractive field awaiting him as a member of such a board; a man who has made a special study of central planning and who has the capacity to direct a department controlling the enlargement and curtailment of production in various lines would likewise find profitable work to do on this board.

Of modern nations Germany has made a much more extensive use of her men of science than have other countries, and has consequently made greater strides in diverse fields. Our increasing dependence on specialists is aptly expressed by E. A. Ross:[1]

> "Team thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equipment. Hence, as soon as there appears in any field of special knowledge or training, with exceptional facilities in the way of collection of laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating associations, the rest of us content ourselves in walking henceforth in the trails other men have blazed."

If the United Order were again placed in operation a most important and far-reaching problem would be to so choose the personnel of the central board, and to organize that board so that a favorable field would open up for the development and encouragement of technical information. Loading the board with "general authorities" would tend to stifle progress.

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1 E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1920) p. 284; *cf.*, also Robinson, *Mind in the Making* (New York, 1921), pp. 78-79.

CHAPTER VI

DIVIDING THE INHERITANCES

Two problems which early forced themselves upon Bishop Partridge's attention were: 1. Should those who made no consecrations (being too poor) receive an inheritance? 2. What should be the size of the inheritances? The first of these questions grew in importance as time went on, for the reason that the idea of gathering to Zion became so absorbing a one to the church membership that the poor crowded into Independence contrary to the established order of procedure, which was as follows:[1]

1. Those expecting to make their homes in Zion and any others who were sufficiently interested in the effort, were to send money to the church agent, Sidney Gilbert, who, as fast as possible, would purchase lands in and around Independence.
2. "From time to time" the Bishop and the Agent were to make known to the church leaders at Kirtland, how conditions were, "how many could be accommodated," etc.
3. Before beginning the journey to "Zion" each one was expected to obtain a "recommend" from the Bishop at Kirtland or, in the branches, from three elders, who, in turn were to keep in touch with the Bishop at Kirtland. These "recommends" were to be issued only as the state of preparation in Zion warranted the giving of recommends.

By means of this arrangement it was expected that the church would be able to conduct "the gathering" in an orderly and desirable manner. But as John Corrill, who was then Bishop Partridge's second counsellor, later expressed it, "the church got crazy to go up to Zion" and the poor crowded there in large numbers. Many had sent no money ahead nor did they have anything to consecrate after arriving. To meet this situation it was pointed out to the people that the "revelations" required consecration. The leaders also decided that no one should receive an inheritance who did not consecrate. In a letter to W. W. Phelps dated Nov. 27, 1832,[2] Joseph Smith acknowledged the perplexity of the problem and gave instructions that "they shall not receive

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1 The details of the order of procedure are described in Corrill's *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints*, also in the *Evening and Morning Star* (Independence, 1832-34) p. 15, and in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 57:15-16.

2 Published in *Joseph Smith*, *op.cit.*, p. 298.

an inheritance nor shall their names be kept on any of the records of the church." He does not specify, however, how big a consecration must be made in order to become eligible for an inheritance. No amount was ever specified, and so it was possible for the poor to obtain a very little property, consecrate it, and in turn obtain an inheritance of approximately the same size as the rest received. In the meantime, while awaiting an inheritance, the poor must be taken care of. The question of charity was a large one for these early Mormon seekers after a better economic order. It grew in importance; not from within, for distinct progress was made there due to the industry of the people, but rather from continued accretion of the poor from without. Bishop Partridge's hands were overtaxed with the work, and for this reason, as well as because of the growth of the community, it was decided, just before the Exodus, to divide Zion into three wards with three Bishoprics.[1]

Under these conditions it is evident that the answer to the second question:—What shall be the size of the inheritance?—lay within a narrow range. The inheritances must be small. They were small, surprisingly small. The first ten families to arrive had enough to provide thirty acres for each family.[2] In the old citizens' Address to the Public, which is printed at the close of chapter XIV, it is said that an inheritance "means some fifteen acres of wild land for each family." This figure is probably too low. Howe places the size of an inheritance at forty acres.[3] As we have already seen, it was the intention to vary the sizes of the inheritances somewhat in accordance with variation in the size of families, in the character of circumstances, and in the difference in wants and needs. Clearly no cut and dried acreage would be likely. One deed, or rather lease, was found among the personal effects of Bishop Partridge. It was drawn in favor of Titus Billings, and it contained twenty-seven and one-half acres. But twenty-seven acres of new land is only about one-third of the amount that was considered a fair sized farm at this time and only one-sixth as large as the one hundred sixty acres which was soon to be regarded as the established size of the homestead entry. Certainly the "portions" were very small. It was difficult to see how an improved economic order could be expected from such beginnings. Still, since there was little to begin with, the control of such an amount may have been a step forward. It is not to be wondered at that some dissatisfaction arose, especially among those who had owned property.

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1 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, pp. 800-801.

2 See Ezra Booth's letter No. 5, published in Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 196.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 227.

The instrument conveying Titus Billings' consecration is of particular interest:

Be it known, That I, Titus Billings of Jackson County, and the State of Missouri, having become a member of the Church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, do, of my own free will and accord, having first paid my just debts, grant and hereby give unto Edward Partridge of Jackson County, and State of Missouri, Bishop of said church, the following described property, *viz*:—Sundry articles of furniture, valued fifty-five dollars twenty-seven cents; also, two beds, bedding and extra clothing, valued seventy-three dollars twenty-five cents; also farming utensils valued forty-one dollars; also one horse, two wagons, two cows, and two calves, valued one hundred forty-seven dollars.

For the purpose of purchasing lands in Jackson County, Mo., and building up the New Jerusalem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor and needy. For which I, the said Titus Billings, do covenant and bind myself and my heirs forever, to release, all my right and interest to the above described property, unto him, the said Edward Partridge, Bishop of said church.

And I, the said Edward Partridge, bishop of said church, having received the above described property, of said Titus Billings, do bind myself, that I will cause the same to be expended for the above mentioned purpose of the said Titus Billings to the satisfaction of said church; and in case I should be removed from the office of Bishop of said church, by death or otherwise, I hereby bind myself and my heirs forever, to make over to my successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all the above described property, which may then be in my possession.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals—— .....day of ....., in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty.....

In presence of {

Signed { Edward Partridge.
Titus Billings.

It is probable that this document does not contain the full record of Titus Billings' consecrations. He may have sent up money ahead to the Agent, with which to purchase land, and later, on arriving, may have turned over his personal property. It is evident that the consecration here made is of personal property only; and since its total value was but $316.52, and was sufficient only for a beginning for one family, there could have been nothing left over with which to "buy land," "build up the New Jerusalem," or "relieve the wants of the poor and needy."

The "lease and loan" which Titus Billings received in return is a most unique document:

Be it known that I, Edward Partridge, of Jackson County, State of Missouri, Bishop of the Church of Christ, organized according to law and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, have leased, and by these presents do lease unto Titus Billings, of Jackson

County, and State of Missouri, a member of said church, the following described pieces or parcels of land, being a part of section No. three, township No. forty-nine, range No. thirty-two, situated in Jackson County, and State of Missouri, and is bounded as follows, *viz*: Beginning eighty rods E. from the S. W. corner of said section; thence N. one hundred sixty rods; thence E. twenty-seven rods twenty-five links; thence S. one hundred sixty rods; thence W. twenty-seven rods twenty-five links to the place of beginning, containing twenty-seven and one-half acres, be the same more or less subject to roads and highways. And also have loaned the following described property, *viz*: Sundry articles of furniture, valued fifty-five dollars twenty-five cents; also two beds, bedding and clothing valued seventy-three dollars twenty-seven cents; also sundry farming utensils, valued forty-one dollars; also one horse, two cows, two calves, and two wagons, valued one hundred forty-seven dollars to have and to hold the above described property, by him, the said Titus Billings, to be used and occupied as to him shall seem meet and proper.

And as a consideration for the use of the above described property I, the said Titus Billings, do bind myself to pay the taxes, and also to pay yearly unto the said Edward Partridge, Bishop of said church or his successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all that I shall make or accumulate more than is needful for the support and comfort of myself and family. And it is agreed by the parties, that this lease and loan shall be binding during the life of said Titus Billings unless he transgresses, and is not deemed worthy by the authority of the church, according to its laws, to belong to the church. And in that case, I, the said Titus Billings, do acknowledge that I forfeit all claim to the above described leased and loaned property, and hereby bind myself to give back the lease, and also pay an equivalent for the loaned (articles) for the benefit of said church, unto the said Edward Partridge, Bishop of said church, or his successor in office. And further, in case of said Titus Billings' or family's inability in consequence of infirmity or old age, to provide for themselves while members of this church, I, the said Elward Partridge, Bishop of said church, so bind myself to administer to their necessities out of any funds in my hands appropriated for that purpose, not otherwise disposed of, to the satisfaction of the church. And further, in case of the death of said Titus Billings, his wife or widow, being at the time a member to said church, has claim upon the above described lease and loaned property, upon precisely the same conditions that her said husband had them, as above described; and the children of said Titus Billings, in case of the death of both their parents, also have claim upon the above described propery, for their support, until they shall become of age, and no longer; subject to the same conditions yearly that their parents were; provided, however, should the parents not be members of said church and in possession of the above described property at the time of their death, the claim of the children as above described, is null and void.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this .....day of....., in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty.....

"In presence of { .....
.....
.....

Signed { Edward Partridge.
Titus Billings.

This instrument places in Titus Billings' hands for life, or

rather in the hands of himself and family during his and his wife's lifetime and thereafter until such time as his children shall reach the age of 21, all of the personal property which he consecrated, valued at $316.22, this property to be regarded as a loan to them during this period. It also places in their hands for the same period of time, as a lease, twenty-seven and one-half acres of land. The lessees are to pay the taxes on both the land and personal property, and are to pay over to the Bishop all surplus arising in excess of that needed "for the support and comfort" of the Billings family. In case they sever connections with the church, they forfeit all right to the land and agree to pay to the church the value of the personal property "loaned" to them.

The question of properly taking care of the church's side of consecrations where individuals were in possession of more than enough for their own needs, was handled along broad lines. In a letter from the Presidency to Bishop Partridge, dated June 25th, 1833, explanation is made of the manner in which consecration should be made.[1]

Brother Edward Partridge. Sir, I proceed to answer your questions, concerning the consecration of property: First, it is not right to condescend to very great particulars in taking inventories. The fact is this, a man is bound by the law of the church, to consecrate to the Bishop, before he can be considered a legal heir to the kingdom of Zion; and this, too without constraint; and unless he does this, he cannot be acknowledged before the Lord, on the church book: Therefore, to condescend to particulars, I will tell you that every man must be his own judge, how much he should receive, and how much he should suffer to remain in the hands of the bishop. I speak of those who consecrate more than they need for the support of themselves and their families.

The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of both parties for, to give the bishop power to say how much every man shall have, and be obliged to comply with the bishop's judgement, is giving to the bishop more power than a king has; and, upon the other hand, to let every man say how much he needs, and the bishop be obliged to comply with his judgment, is to throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the bishops. The fact is, there must be a balance or equilibrium of power, between the bishop and the people; and thus harmony and good will be preserved among you.

Therefore, these persons consecrating property to the bishop in Zion, and then receiving an inheritance back, must show reasonably to the bishop that he wants as much as he claims. But in case the two parties cannot come to a mutual agreement, the bishop is to have nothing to do about receiving their consecrations; and the case must be laid before a council of twelve high priests; the bishop not being one of the council, but he is to lay the case before them.

The Problem which was troubling the Independence leaders here, will be recognized as a most important one. The determination of the size of the stewardships meant the establishment of

[1] *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, p. 801.

a community standard of living. The development of a definite policy determining how far departure might be made from the standard as a concession to individual differences, meant a decision on the momentous question of how near to a "dead level" it was necessary to go in order to achieve the degree of equality which it was desirable to maintain. Unfortunately, solutions to these problems were not worked out. It is of interest to observe that machinery through which they might be answered was developed. One feels disposed to wish that the old settlers of Jackson County had permitted the experiment to continue longer. Our American standard of living conception has gradually developed during the past century under adverse conditions. Up to the present time it is necessarily somewhat vague and indefinite. It consists mainly of minimum standards. The community standard which would necessarily have risen under the United Order would have been much more definite, would have possessed maximum as well as minimum limitations, and would not have been weighted with extremes at either end. Further discussion of the machinery which was installed to settle this and similar disputes will be found in chapter XIX.

In addition to those classes already considered there were a considerable number of settlers owning some property who moved into Jackson County and began to buy land on their own account. This particular class did not make consecrations, thus failing to enter into the United Order. Naturally they gave the leaders at Independence some concern. In a letter of Joseph Smith to W. W. Phelps, dated Nov. 27th, 1832, already referred to, the former imagines the latter to be pondering this question:

> My God, great and mighty art Thou, therefore show unto Thy servants what shall become of all those who are assaying to come up to Zion, in order to keep the commandments of God, and yet receive not their inheritances by consecrations, by order or deed from the bishop, the man that God has appointed in a legal way, agreeably to the law given to organize and regulate the church, and all the affairs of the same. He then proceeds to answer it as follows: 'It is contrary to the will and commandment of God, that those who receive not their inheritance by consecration, should have their names enrolled with the people of God; neither is their genealogy to be kept, or to be had where it may be found in any of the records or history of the church; their names shall not be found, neither the names of the fathers, nor the names of the children written in the book of the law of God, saith the Lord of hosts.[1]

While it is true that a considerable number had not, for a number of reasons, received stewardships at the time of the exodus, this firm attitude on the part of the church would, in all probability, have accomplished the desired result of bringing all under the provisions of the Order in due time.

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1 Published in *"Joseph Smith," op.cit.*, vol 1, pp.297 99.

Comments on Economic Aspects of Lease Plan

This arrangement gave promise of providing the church with sufficient power so that "apostates" could not do serious harm. The extreme bitterness of many of those who left the church in this early period was probably the reason why this "leasing system" was worked out. But the departure from the plan contained in the *Doctrine and Covenants* of deeding inheritances, is a much bigger one than those who brought it about probably realized. The *Doctrine and Covenants* plan specifies that the ownership of the stewardships shall be in the hands of the stewards and of their children after them.[1] This lease plan places the ownership of all the property, personal and real, in the church. The stewards become but leasees of church property. The loss of economic motives is by no means small in the lease arrangement. The ownership of land and of property has ever had a strong appeal to the average man. It has operated as a powerful incentive and as an increasing stimulant in getting the world's work done. After all, it must be remembered that it is in the character and the efficiency of the world's work that the well-being of the world, in its material aspects, resides. Present experience teaches that the main springs of progress are found in individual initiative and in private property. The lease plan completely ignores these two fundamental elements in the success of capitalism.

However much capitalism needs strengthening at the center, in order that a certain amount of central planning and central direction may be brought to bear in eliminating maladjustment, it can never be said that it has not found and lodged great responsibility on the real cornerstone of economic progress; namely, the individual man. Because of having found and made use of this firm foundation, it has become one of the greatest educational and civilizing forces that have ever operated in human affairs.

A plan which involves the transfer of ownership of all property to a church or to any organization, and makes of the individual only a cog in a great machine is neither educational in tendency, attractive in promise, nor productive in its actual workings. It is idle to claim that a failure of such attempts is due to the selfishness and lack of idealism in those who have made the effort. The failure lies in the plan itself. However great the failure may be, it is well merited. Ill-considered idealism does not make for progress, neither does foolish altruism lead to a spirit of genuine liberality and brotherly consideration. The United Order of the *Doctrine and Covenants* has never yet been tried out by the Mormon church. Fortunately, in its respect for

1 See *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 51:3-5; also Sec. 83:3-5; also Sec. 104:22, etc.

fundamental economic motives, it is unquestionably altogether superior to those plans which have been tried. In it the steward is a real factor in economic affairs, as he must be and should be in any plan which succeeds. In the plans which have been tried the individual is of trifling importance. It is reported that Brigham Young once said: "When I find a man who is better able to take care of my property than I am, I will turn it over to him, but not before." Not only should the steward own and control that property which is needed for the support of himself and family, but he should have his *full* share in the *control* and *direction* of the surplus on which depends a higher standard of life in the future, not only for himself and family, but also for each of the other families in the Order. In such an arrangement there is plenty of room for the exercise of generosity and for the growth of that big spirit which comes from service, for by turning in a generous surplus from his stewardship he genuinely benefits every family in the order. There is here combined the motives of self-interest and of group interest, in a practical manner. Why should not these two motives, thus brought together, exercise a strong appeal to energetic action?

Self-interest is generally admitted, even by the historical school of economic writers, to be the most sustained and the most powerful of motives which operate in the economic field. It causes the industrious to work early and late, the laggard to do as much as he does, the efficient to add to his efficiency, the careless to be less so, the planner to perfect his system, and the worker to add to his zeal. It has made blind men out of the clear-sighted, cripples out of the able bodied, and charity mongers out of those who might be engaged in a better cause. Good and bad things alike it accomplishes, but above all it makes the world go around. Without it no plan of industrial organization has yet met with success.

Nor should self-interest be looked upon as an inferior motive. For be it remembered, a very chief object of life is the improvement of man's individual powers and of the conditions which surround him. To disparage the divine spark which urges him to a bigger, stronger, richer life is to fail to recognize one of the great essentials of progress. In no sense is the desire for self-improvement incompatible with a desire for the improvement of others. On the contrary, the existence of such a desire in an individual should suggest to him a kindly interest in such desires in others. An economic system which gives large place to

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1 It is also to be remembered that the lease plan made it much easier for the church to maintain equality. A deeded inheritance might become, for various reasons, much more valuable than another one. The difficulty involved here, however, is a small one, in the writer's opinion, compared with the difficulties inherent in the lease plan.

self-interest, but at the same time gives continued opportunity to assist others, is apt to be founded on solid principles.

Why Joseph Smith should have consented to church ownership of all property with a leasing system for the stewards in direct opposition to revelation "Fifty-one" which was to serve as an example to Bishop Partridge in establishing United Order units, is a matter for conjecture. The stress of a most bitter persecution, stirred up in part by apostates, must have had strong influence[1]. Possibly, not being of a very practical financial bent himself, he did not appreciate that so important a change was being made. Which of his advisers was responsible for the plan, is unknown. Most certainly it was not the leaders at Independence, for they were already complaining of "monarchial" power. Was it Sidney Rigdon? One can only surmise. Whoever it was, started an economic device which tended to make the church everything and the stewards nothing. One is reminded of the medieval effort to make God so great that no mortal could comprehend Him. The whole spirit of Mormonism revolts against such a plan. Mormonism exalts the individual as no other religion does. It gives him a pre-existence and concedes to him an immortal, uncreated entity, of like kith and kin to that which God possesses. Christ is believed to be an Elder Brother, and through Him, it is held, Godship may be obtained. Churches are but instrumentalities to serve and help man, and the whole program of salvation is wound about this central consideration: the education, the growth, the progress of the children of God. "For," says the God of Mormonism, "this is my work and my glory to bring to pass the eternal life and immortality of man." The leasing plan would have stunted growth, starved initiative, and dwarfed individuality. No wonder it did not prove popular with the Mormon people and no wonder difficulties arose at Independence.

On the other hand, deed ownership of inheritances, coupled with a high development of democratic control over matters properly coming under local autonomy, such as control over the Order Officers, the common treasury, into which the surplus goes, and the rules governing admission to the Order, are not only in harmony with the spirit of Mormon philosophy and the United Order "revelations" themselves, but also embody genuine Americanism, incorporate correct principles of practical education and make certain that the system will be reared on sound economic foundations.

Sufficient has probably been said to show how superior in the preservation of adequate motives was the proposed arrangement of deeding to the steward his inheritance, in comparison with the leasing plan. Likewise, and for the same reasons, democratic control over the treasury and over the appointment and removal of Order officers is of the greatest importance as

is also such control over the regulations which govern the admittance of new members to the Order. If these powers be adequately vouchsafed to the stewards, and there is nothing in the *Doctrine and Covenants*' plan which is out of harmony with such an arrangement,[1] the plan becomes a very unique, attractive, and promising one.

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1 New features of the United Order were developing during the whole period at Independence. Machinery that would give democratic control over the treasury was not developed, probably due to the fact that little or no surplus emerged. It is vital that the United Order should be considered a growing plan and not a constitution which cannot be amended. Joseph Smith so considered it and it is evident from his prediction concerning the "one mighty and strong" that important features concerning the order were yet to come.

CHAPTER VII

REGULATING THE GATHERING

It will be well to keep in mind as this chapter proceeds, the fact that the United Order is a plan which requires a redistribution of wealth, a leveling down that there might be a leveling up. It will be clear, on reflection, that there will be little hope for the United Order, or any other like plan, to succeed if a fair proportion of people of wealth do not become members of it, for under modern conditions capital is essential to successful production. One of the great accomplishments of Capitalism is that it has been able, in ever-growing quantity, to increase capital by the aid of which man has constantly increased his power to produce goods that satisfy his needs. If the United Order is to be expected to compete successfully with capitalism, it should have an equal amount of capital to begin with; hence the necessity of inducing men of means to cast in their lot with the group which is to put the system into operation. Men of wealth have a distinct viewpoint. Many of this class are not lacking in generosity, nor in willingness to sacrifice their personal interests in a cause which gives promise of genuinely increasing the welfare of the masses. But constituting as they do the class that has succeeded, wealthy men feel that they know something about the conditions that make for success. Experience has taught them:

That reasonable certainty and definiteness about conditions that are to maintain is essential. Capitalism accomplishes this by means of laws guaranteeing the ownership and regulating the disposal of private property. Since the government has always, in the main, upheld these legal guarantees, men have confidence and work with a will to accumulate for the benefit of themselves and their families. Thus, through this definiteness, one of the main springs to successful production, private initiative, is genuinely reached. Take away this definiteness and no matter how good intentions may be, production will fall off in an amazing manner. Russia's recent experience is a gigantic example. The fact that the United Order was not complete, and that Joseph Smith was continuing to receive revelations which more fully organized the plan but which also specified what was to be done with Order funds, made for uncertainty. As a matter of fact, there was very little revelation which was concerned with the expenditure of funds; and it is a noteworthy fact that Joseph Smith remained away from Independence, in order, no doubt, that the people of Independence should be as free as possible in working out the sys-

tem. But the element of uncertainty was present, and that definiteness which is so necessary a part of sound economic life was not attained at Independence.

But let us see what means were used to regulate the character of the membership, so that financial success would be possible. The plan was as follows:

Certain men were called to go and build up Zion. The rest of the church membership were not to "go up in haste or by flight." but were to await instructions.[1] These instructions were given from time to time. Joseph Smith was to "be enabled to discern by the Spirit those who should go up to the land of Zion and those of my desciples who should tarry."[2] Kirtland was to be retained for a period of five years, and after that time anyone could go to Zion who went "with an open heart."[3] Still there is a strong urging to build up Zion: "And behold, and lo, this shall be their cry, and the voice of the Lord unto all people: Go ye forth unto the land of Zion, that the borders of my people shall be enlarged, and her stakes may be strengthened and that Zion may go forth unto the regions round about."[4] But as a check on hasty and unwise emigration it was arranged that a recommendation from the newly established Bishop at Kirtland or a certificate from three elders in the branches, should be required of those who went to Zion.[5]

But notwithstanding the necessity of such restrictions, in order that the early founders of the system might establish themselves and consolidate their gains, they found it very difficult to make the restrictions effective. The poor crowded in, and whatever gains might have been possible tended soon to be dissipated.[6] The first issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* contains some instructions "To the Saints of Christ scattered Abroad," from Bishop Partridge.[7] Kindly as the article is, it manifests throughout a desire to restrain hasty immigration. In the second issue, a more extended article appears, from which the following is taken.[8]

> Notwithstanding, the work of the gathering will be accomplished, we believe, in a speedy manner; yet the Lord has commanded that it shall not be done in haste, nor by flight, but that all things shall be prepared before you; and for this purpose he has made it the duty of the bishop or agent in the land of Zion to make known, from time to time, the privileges of the land, to the conferences, which may determine and make known how many can be accomodated.
>
> And the saints will remember that the bishop in the land of Zion

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1 *Revelation,* July, 1831, see *"Joseph Smith, op,cit..* pp. 190, 308."
2 *Revelation,* August, 1931; *Ibid.,* p. 209.
3 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 64:22-24.
4 *Ibid.,* Sec. 139:9.
5 *Ibid.,* Sec. 72:16-18; also 24-26.
6 Caswalls, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,* pp. 112-14.
7 *Evening and Morning Star,* Vol. 1, p. 15.
8 *Ibid.,* vol. 1, p. 24.

will not receive any, as wise stewards, without they bring a recommend from the bishop in Ohio, or from three elders. The elders, therefore, will be careful not to recommend and send up churches to this place without first receiving information from the bishop in Ohio, or in the land of Zion, that they can be accomodated when they arrive so as to be settled without confusion, which would produce pestilence. Therefore, if a church is desirous to come to the land of Zion, we would recommend that first, by letter or otherwise, they make known their desires and their situation to the bishop in Ohio, or in the land of Zion, and receive information from them before they start. Brethren will perceive as well as we, that where churches of fifty or one hundred souls each are coming to the land of Zion from different parts of the nation, and, as soon will be the case, from different nations, without a knowledge of each other, they would, when they arrive, be in a state of confusion, and labor under many disadvantages, which might be avoided by strictly observing the rules and regulations of the church. Moreover, by being in haste, and forcing the sale of property, unreasonable sacrifices have been made, and although this is a day of sacrifices and tithing, yet to make lavish and unreasonable sacrifices is not well pleasing in the sight of the Lord.

The December, 1832, number in an editorial on "The Way of Journeying for the Saints of Christ,"[1] after giving the instructions previously quoted, says:

Now, brethren, you behold for yourselves, that the language of the Lord is plain and positive, and if you should act contrary to His commandments, you may not only be sorely chastened, but even consumed by the pestilence, for as sure as the Lord lives, He will not be mocked with the pretentions of any in these last days.

The July, 1834, issue of the same periodical goes more into detail in the article on "The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad in Love Greeting,"[2] as follows:

To see numbers of disciples come to this land, destitute of means to procure an inheritance, and much less the necessities of life, awakens a sympathy in our bosoms of no ordinary feeling; and we should do injustice to the saints were we to remain silent, when, perhaps, a few words by way of advice may be the means of instructing them, that hereafter great difficulties may be avoided.

For the disciples to suppose that they can come to this land without ought to eat, or to drink, or to wear, or anything to purchase these necessaries with, is a vain thought. For them to suppose that their clothes and shoes will not wear out upon the journey, when the whole of it lies through a country where there are thousands of sheep from which wool in abundance can be procured to make them garments, and cattle upon a thousand hills, to afford leather for shoes, is just as vain. . . .

Then brethren, we would advise that where there are many poor in a church, that the elders counsel together and make preparations to send a part at one time and a part at another.

These quotations from the *Star* suggests what in fact was a growing feeling among the leaders at Independence, that the

1 *Evening and Morning Star* vol. 1, p. 105.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 219-22.

great influx of the poor was constantly augumenting difficulties. John Corrill puts it thus:[1]

The church immediately began to gather in Jackson County, and on this subject they became quite enthusiastic. They had been commanded to not go up in haste, nor by flight, but to have all things prepared before them. Money was to be sent up to the bishop, and as fast as lands were purchased and preparations made, the bishop was to let it be known, that the church might be gathered in. But this regulation was not attended to, for the church got crazy to go up to Zion, as it was then called. The rich were afraid to send up their money to purchase land, and the poor crowded up in numbers, without having any places provided, contrary to the advise of the bishop and others, until the old citizens began to be highly displeased. They saw their county filling up with emigrants, principally poor. They disliked their religion and saw also, that if left alone, they would in a short time become a majority and, of course, rule the county. The church kept increasing, and the old citizens became more and more dissatisfied, and from time to time offered to sell their farms and possessions, but the Mormons, though desirous, were too poor to purchase them.

The old citizens in their "Secret Constitution"[2] lightly but graphically say:

This, we conceive, is not idle assertion, but a fact susceptible of proof, for with these few exceptions, above named, they brought into our county little or no property with them and left less behind them, and we infer that those only yoked themselves to the Mormon car who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the change.

Joseph Smith, in a "Letter to the Brethren in Zion",, dated April 21, 1833, sends these words of encouragement: "And be assured that we shall use our influence to send brethren to Zion who are able to help you in the purchase of lands."[3]

In view of the extreme picture which these quotations convey it appears necessary to say at this point that notwithstanding so great a preponderance of the poor, land from the Government was so cheap ($1.25 and $2.00 per acre) and so fertile, that the industry of the Mormons was, to an extent, overcoming the great handicap, and a fair approach to comfortable circumstances was in prospect for those who had received inheritances at the time of the exodus.[4]

All in all it is clear that while the church leaders appreciated, at least to a fair degree, and some of them fully, the economic necessity of a clubbing together of the rich with the poor, the measures taken were not effective in keeping back an altogether undue proportion of the poor. This most important consideration, from the standpoint of a fair trial of the United Order

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1 Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints*, pp. 18-19.
2 Printed in full at end of Chapter XIV.
3 "*Joseph Smith, op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 341."
4 See article "The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad, in Love Greeting", July, 1834, number, *Evening and Morning Star;* also, P. P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 99; and, H. H. Bancroft *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 96.

as a working system, was not handled successfully, and most serious difficulties were thus thrust upon the effort by the manner in which the gathering was actually managed.

Notes on the Gathering

The fullest single account of conditions in Zion is found in the July, 1833, instructions from "The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad, in Love Greeting," which is herewith printed in full.[1]

Dear Brethren:—One year having passed since we addressed the churches abroad on the situation of Zion and the state of the gathering, it seems to be our duty to again address the saints on the same subjects. Although you frequently learn through the medium of the *Star* our situation and progress, yet we indulge a hope that a circular from us, particularly setting these things forth at this time, will be received by you in fellowship.

We have abundant reason to thank the Lord for His goodness and mercy manifested unto us since we were planted in this land.

With the exception of the winter season, the gathering has continued slowly. At present we have not the exact number of disciples, but suppose that there are near seven hundred. Include these, with their children and those who belong to families, and the number will probably amount to more than twelve hundred souls.

Many have been planted upon their inheritance, where, blessed with a fruitful soil and a healthy climate, they are beginning to enjoy some of the comforts of life, in connection with peace and satisfaction of pure and undefiled religion, which is to visit the widow and the fatherless in their afflictions and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world. This brings down the blessings of peace and love from our Father, and confirms our faith in the promise that we shall see Him in the flesh, when He comes to be glorified in His saints and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.

Here let us remark that our duty urges us to notice a few letters which have been sent from this place by persons seeking the loaves and fishes, or by such as have lost their standing among men of character in the world. In the letters alluded to are some facts, but the most of them are false.

It is said that women go out to work. This is a fact, and not only women but men, too; for in the Church of Christ all that are able have to work to fulfill the commandments of the Lord; and the situation in which many have come up here has brought them under the necessity of seeking employment from those who do not belong to the church; yet we can say as far as our knowledge extends, that they have been honorably compensated. And we are willing that the decree concerning mankind, thou shalt eat thy bread by the sweat of thy brow, should be fulfilled. Members of the church have, or will have, "deeds" in their own name.

One Bates, from New London, Ohio, who subscribed fifty dollars for the purpose of purchasing lands and the necessaries for the saints, after his arrival here sued Edward Partridge and obtained a judgment for the same. Bates shortly after denied the faith and ran away on Sunday,

[1] *Evening and Morning Star*, pp. 219-22.

leaving debts unpaid. We do not mention this to cast reflection, but to give a sample of his work manifested since he came to this land.

No man that has consecrated property to the Lord, for the benefit of the poor and needy, by a deed of gift according to the laws of the land, has thought of suing for it, any more than the men of the world, who give or donate to build meetinghouses, or colleges, or to send missionaries to India or the Cape of Good Hope.

Every saint that has come to this land to escape the desolations which await the wicked, and prepare for the coming of the Lord, is well satisfied with the country and the order of the kingdom of our God; and we are happy to say that the inhabitants of Zion are growing in grace and in the knowledge of those things which lead to peace and eternal glory. And our hearts are filled with thanksgiving for the privilege of bearing this testimony concerning our brethren on this land.

One object in writing this epistle is to give some instructions to those who come up to the land of Zion. Through a mistaken idea many of the brethren abroad that had property have given some away, and sacrificed some, they hardly know how. This is not right, nor according to the commandments.

We would advise in the first place, that every disciple if in his power, pay his just debts, so as to owe no man, and then if he has any property left, let him be careful of it; and he can help the poor by consecrating some for their inheritance; for as yet there has not been enough consecrated to plant the poor in inheritances according to the regulation of the church and the desire of the faithful.

This might have been done had such as had property been prudent. It seems as though a notion was prevalent in Babylon that the Church of Christ was a common stock concern. This ought not so to be, for it is not the case. When a disciple comes to Zion for an inheritance it is his duty, if he has anything to consecrate to the Lord, for the benefit of the poor and the needy, or to purchase lands, to consecrate it according to the law of the Lord and also according to the law of the land; and the Lord has said that in keeping His law we have no need to break the laws of the land. And we have abundant reason to be thankful that we are permitted to establish ourselves under the protection of a government that knows no exceptions to sect or society, but gives all its citizens a privilege of worshiping God according to their own desire.

Again, while in the world, it is not the duty of a disciple to exhaust all his means in bringing the poor to Zion; and this because, if all should do so, there would be nothing to put in the store house in Zion. for the purpose which the Lord has commanded.

Do not think brethren by this that we would advise or direct that the poor be neglected in the least; this is not the desire of our hearts; for we are mindful of the word of our Father, which informs us that in His bosom it is decreed that the poor and meek of the earth shall possess it.

The welfare of the poor has always a place in our hearts; yet we are confident that our experience, even had we nothing else to prompt us to advise on this point, and that wholly for the good of the cause in which we labor, would be sufficient in the minds of our brethren abroad to excuse a plainness on this important part of our subject.

To see numbers of disciples come to this land destitute of means to procure an inheritance, and much less the necessaries of life, awakens a sympathy in our bosoms of no ordinary feeling; and we should do injustice to the saints were we to remain silent, when, perhaps, a few words by way of advice may be the means of instructing them that hereafter great difficulty may be avoided.

For the disciples to suppose that they can come to this land without aught to eat, or to drink, or to wear, or anything to purchase those necessaries with, is a vain thought. For them to suppose that their clothes and shoes will not wear out upon the journey, when the whole of it lies through a country where there are thousands of sheep from which wool in abundance can be procured to make them garments, and cattle upon a thousand hills to afford leather for shoes, is just as vain.

The circumstances of the saints in gathering to the land of Zion in these last days are very different from those of the children of Israel, after they despised the promised rest of the Lord, after they were brought out of the land of Egypt. Previous to that the Lord promised them, if they would obey His voice and keep His commandments, that He would send the hornet before them and drive out those nations which then inhabited the promised land, so that they might have peaceable possession of the same, without the shedding of blood. But in consequence of their unbelief and rebellion they were compelled to obtain it by the sword, with the sacrifice of many lives.

But to suppose that we can come up here and take possession of this land by the shedding of blood, would be setting at naught the law of the glorious gospel, and also the word of our great Redeemer; and to suppose that we can take possession of this country, without making regular purchases of the same according to the laws of our nation, would be reproaching this great republic, in which the most of us were born, and under whose auspices we all have protection.

We feel as though enough was said on this point, knowing that a word to the wise is sufficient, and that all our brethren are aware of the fact that all the tithes cannot be gathered into the storehouse of the Lord, that the windows to heaven may be opened and a blessing poured out that there is not room enough to contain it, if all the means of the saints are exhausted before they reach the place where they can have a privilege of so doing.

Do not conclude from these remarks brethren that we doubt in the least that the Lord will fail to provide for His saints in these last days, or that we would extend our hands to steady His ark; for this is not the case. We know that the saints have the unchangeable word of God that they shall be provided for; yet we know if any are imprudent or lavish, or negligent, or indolent in taking that proper care and making that proper use of what the Lord has made them stewards over, which is their duty, they are not counted wise; for a strict account of every one's stewardship is required, not only in time, but will be in eternity.

Neither do we apprehend that we shall be considered as putting our hands to steady the ark of God by giving advice to our brethren upon important points relative to their coming to Zion, when the experience of almost two years' gathering has taught us to revere that sacred word from heaven, 'Let not your flight be in haste, but let all things be prepared before you.

Then brethren we would advise that where there are many poor in a church, that the elders counsel together and make preparations to send a part at one time and a part at another. And let the poor rejoice in that they are exalted, but the rich in that they are made low, for there is no respect of persons in the sight of the Lord.

The disciples of Christ, blessed with immediate revelations from him, should be wise and not take the way of the world nor build air castles, but consider that when they have been gathered to Zion means will be needed to purchase their inheritances, and means will be needed to purchase food and raiment for at least one year, or, at any rate, food:

and where disciples or churches are blessed with means to do as much as this, they would be better off in Zion than in the world, troubled as it is, and will shortly be, with plagues, famines, pestilence and utter destruction upon the ungodly.

On the subject of false reports which are put in circulation by evil-minded men, to ridicule the idea of the gathering of Israel in these last days, we would say to our brethren abroad, believe them not: The *Evening and Morning Star* was established expressly to publish the truth and the word of the Lord; that the Saints might not be deceived by such as make broad the borders of their garments and love the uppermost rooms to feast; yea, by such as bind heavy burdens which are grievous to be borne and lay them upon men's shoulders, but will not move them with their fingers. Yes, we give this caution that the disciples may not give heed to the gainsaying of those who seek the honor of this world and the glory of the same rather than the honor of God and His glory; nor those who have turned away from the Church of Christ and denied the faith delivered to His saints in these last days.

Brethren, the Lord has begun to gather His children, even Israel, that they may prepare to enter into and enjoy His rest when He comes in His glory, and He will do it. No matter what our ideas and notions may be upon the subject; no matter what foolish report the wicked may circulate to gratify an evil disposition, the Lord will continue to gather the righteous and destroy the wicked, till the sound goes forth, 'It is finished.'

It ought to be known abroad that much improvement is needed in the cattle, sheep and hogs, in this part of the country. For the sake of comfort and convenience, as cows here are worth from ten to fifteen dollars, our brethren would do well, and we would advise them, to purchase before they arrive in this region.

In fact, if they journey according to the commandments of the Lord, pitching their tents by the way, like Israel in the days of old, it would be no more than right to drive cows enough to supply every family, or company, with milk on the way.

They would then have them when they arrived here; and if they selected of the best breeds, they would lay a foundation for improvement, a thing of which all our brethren who are acquainted with raising stock will at once see the propriety.

The sheep of this state are large, but as their wool is coarse, the breed would soon be improved if our brethren would drive with them some Merinos or Saxony. As soon as the wool and flax are had among the brethren, sufficient for the purpose, they will manufacture cloth for their own use in the church.

The swine in this country are not good, being the old-fashioned shack breed, and much inferior to the large white grass breed of the Eastern States. If any could introduce this breed into the church of Zion, what little pork might be wanted in the winter would be much better and easier raised.

It is a matter of some surprise to us that our brethren should come up to the land of Zion, as many do, without bringing garden seeds, and even seeds of all kinds.

The Jaredites and Nephites took with them of all kinds; and the Jaredites all kinds of animals. And although the Lord has said that it was His business to provide for his saints, yet He has not said that He would do it unless they kept His commandments.

And notwithstanding, the fullness of the earth is for the saints, they can never expect it unless they use the means put into their hands to obtain the same in the manner provided by our Lord. When you flee to

Zion we enjoin the word, prepare all things that you may be ready to labor for a living, for the Lord has promised to take the curse off the land of Zion in His own due time, and the willing and obedient will eat the good of the same; and not the idle, for they are to be had in remembrance before the Lord.

One very important requisition for the saints that come up to the land of Zion is, that before they start they procure a certificate from three elders, of the church, or from the Bishop in Ohio, according to the commandments; and when they arrive to present it to the Bishop in Zion; otherwise they are not considered wise stewards, and cannot be received into fellowship with the church till they prove themselves by their own goodness.

Some of our brethren may, in the first instant, think perhaps that this is useless and formal; but a few reflections will be sufficient for them to see the propriety of it, and more especially when they learn that it is a commandment given us of our Lord.

Our brethren will find an extract of the law of this State relative to free people of color, on another page of this paper. Great care should be taken on this point. The saints must shun every appearance of evil. As to slaves, we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age much is doing toward abolishing slavery and colonizing the blacks in Africa.

The foregoing remarks have been addressed to our brethren abroad, considered as one general body, and have been designed as general information to all. We cannot close this epistle compatible with our duty without particularly addressing ourselves to our brethren, the elders, to whom is entrusted the preaching of the everlasting gospel, the glad tidings of salvation to Israel, and to all the Gentiles, if they will listen to the invitation.

Brethren, we are aware of your many afflictions, or at least in part, some of us having been eye-witnesses to the things of God, and having been called to bear testimony of the same from the first since this gospel has been proclaimed in these last days. The desire of our hearts for your prosperity we can truly say is inexpressible, for when you are prospered we are, and when you are blessed we are blessed also. The afflictions which you are necessarily called to undergo in these days of tribulation and vengeance upon the wicked call forth from our hearts unceasing prayers to our common Parent in your behalf, that you may be enabled to deliver His message in the demonstration of His Spirit, and call together His elect from the ends of the earth to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, even to Mount Zion.

By those few expressions you will see, brethren, how important we view your callings. We do not consider that it is our duty to direct you in your missions, but we will give you a few words what we have reason to expect relative to the gathering of the saints, according to the revelations of the Lord.

We would remind our brethren of a clause in the covenants which informs us that all who are ordained in this church are to be ordained according to the gifts and callings of God unto them, by the power of the Holy Ghost which is in the one who ordains them. We would also remind them of one valuable caution recorded in Paul's first letter to Timothy, which says, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins.'

Those cautions, however, are particularly addressed to our young brethren in the ministry. We know many of our brethren are wise in these important parts of their labors, and have rid their garments of the blood of this generation, and are approved before the Lord.

We will proceed further brethren to notice some particular items

immediately connected with your duties and what, as we said before, we have reason to expect from you, according to the relevations. In one given on December 4, 1831, we learn that it is the duty of the elders of the church in the East, to render an account of their stewardship unto the bishop appointed unto the church in that part of the Lord's vineyard.

The Lord says: 'And now, verily I say unto you, that as every elder in this part of the vineyard (the East), must give an account of his stewardship unto the bishop in this part of the vineyard, a certificate from the judge or bishop in this part of the vineyard, unto the bishop in Zion, rendereth every man acceptable, and answereth all things for an inheritance, and to be received as a wise steward, and as a faithful laborer; otherwise he shall not be accepted of the bishop in Zion.

And now, verily I say unto you, let every elder who shall give an account unto the bishop of the church, in this part of the vineyard (the East), be recommended by the church or churches, in which he labors, that he may render himself and his accounts approved in all things.'

We hope brethren that you will be particular to teach the disciples abroad prudence and economy in all things. Teach them in plainness that without regular recommends they cannot be received in fellowship with the church in Zion until after they have proven themselves worthy by their godly talk. And those who are recommended by you, we expect, will be such as are personally known to you to be disciples indeed, and worthy the confidence of all saints.

Viewing the quotation relative to your obtaining a certificate from the bishop in the East concerning your worthiness, you cannot blame us, brethren, if we are strict on this point. It may be understood therefore, by our brethren themselves, who come from the East, and do not bring a regular certificate showing that their labors have been accepted there, that they cannot be accepted in Zion. We do not set ourselves up as judges in this; we have only a desire to see the order of our Redeemer's kingdom observed in all things; for his commandments are precious with us; we have them on our hands, and they are sacred to our hearts.

Our brethren who labor in the churches a distance to the west of the residence of the bishop in the East, who do not render their accounts to him, should be particular to bring recommends from the churches in which they do labor, and present them, with the accounts of their labors to the bishop immediately after their arrival here. And those elders who labor continually in preaching the gospel to the world, should also be particular to render their accounts of the same, that they may show themselves approved in all things, and be known to be worthy of the high office in which they stand in the Church of Christ.

Having said considerable concerning those particular points which are necessary to be observed by our brethren who journey to this land, and also a few words to the elders, we deem it a privilege before we conclude to say something more to the church at large. In the previous remarks, however, we presume our brethren may make many improvements; and, perhaps, discover some errors; if so, we can say, that the best of motives have prompted us to write to our brethren, and if some small errors are to be found, we are certain that the general ideas are correct, and will be a means of doing good, if those who are immediately interested in the same give heed to them.

Dear brethren in the new covenant, accept this as a token for a salutation in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, from your brethren in Zion. While we are permitted to witness the great things which are continually taking place in fulfillment of the prophecies concerning the last days, as the children of God are gathered home to prepare themselves for the supper of the Lamb, our language, that is, the English tongue, fails to express our joy.

CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL UNDERTAKINGS

1. The Store House and Charity

In every community there is a more or less irreducible minimum number who for physical or mental reasons are incapable of providing themselves with a living. In addition to these there are others who, while able and willing to care for themselves, are temporarily prevented from doing so by untoward conditions that beset them; conditions occasioned perhaps by new machines that make useless acquired skill, or through lack of seasonal co-ordination of work, or by wide-spread unemployment incident to depressions, or other such causes. Modern civilization requires that reasonable assistance be given to those who are thus situated. In recent times social insurance has claimed wide-spread attention as a remedy for the chief ills of life. More recently progressive business establishments who have found that they were subject to the bad results of seasonal fluctuations have sought to plan more completely. Through proper dove-tailing they have eliminated large wastes in unnecessary labor turnover, idle machines, and unused property in lands and buildings. Henry Ford has found that by properly "fitting the man to the job" it is possible for the sightless, the armless and the legless to earn full wages. Furthermore, the beginnings of an intelligent study of the cycle are being made[1] and it is well within the possible that the great evils occasioned by it may ultimately be controlled. But in the present state of industrial co-ordination there exists a large class, in addition to the physically and mentally unfit, who, through no fault of their own, are in need of help.

It should be observed that if the United Order were made effective the size of the group who are justly entitled to charity would be greatly reduced. The frequent exhortations in the *Doctrine and Covenants* to remember the poor, are not, in the main, intended to bring about "charity relief," but belong rather to the preventative arrangements. This interpretation follows readily when a proper understanding is had of the property redistribution which the United Order is intended to bring about. The chief way in which the poor are to be remembered is in the original sharing up of property. After this has been accomplished and each man becomes a steward, there remains little need for charity.

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1 See *Report of President Harding, Conference on Unemployment*, Sept., 1921.

Haphazard giving, which has so greatly demoralized character in the charities of the past, becomes unnecessary under the Mormon arrangement. Central control over charity is concentrated in the hands of the ward Bishopric. At the present time the Bishopric is assisted by two agencies; the Relief Society, which is a mothers' organization, and the Ward Teachers. The Relief Society was not organized during the time of the Independence sojourn and therefore exerted no influence there.

Each ward in the church has a teachers' organization which is presided over by the bishop and his counsellors. The bishopric divide their ward into districts so that each district contains from six to ten families. In each of these districts two teachers are called to labor. They are expected to visit each family once a month, or oftener, if particular occasion requires. At these visits all of the members of the family are called together and a short home family meeting is held. The teachers expound definite principles of Mormonism and find out what the financial condition of the family is. Once each month all of the teachers are expected to meet together and make their reports to the bishop, who presides over them. Equipped with accurate information from the teachers, who may be regarded as skilled investigators because of their frequent visits and thorough knowledge concerning the limited number under their charge, the bishop is in a position to grant charity to those and those only who need it. A more detailed account of recent methods of doing ward teachers' work in the church is to be found in the notes at the end of this chapter.

It was not, then, by means of social insurance, accident compensation, minimum wages, or other modern devices that the United Order proposed to render needed assistance to the poor. The plan goes farther than any of these. It includes preventive measures of far-reaching consequence. First, there is placed in the possession of the poor man a stewardship by means of which he should be able to make a living. His excuse for poverty is thus removed. Secondly, charity is organized, and control is centralized, so that only those who need help can get it. But some relief measures are necessary. These are provided primarily through the machinery of the ward teachers' organization, operating under the direction of the bishopric. So far as the charity aspect is concerned some of the best developments in modern charity organizations are to be found in the United Order plan. In attacking the larger problem of poverty the provisions are comprehensive and thorough-going.

The question that next presses forward is: How do goods come to get into the Storehouse? That is to say, how is the Storehouse end of the establishment maintained?

It is already clear to the reader that the consecrations—that portion of each person's property which was greater than the needs of himself and family required—were to be placed in the Storehouse for the benefit of the poor and for the building up of the community. In addition to this, the surplus yields of all the stewardships were to be placed there. From these two sources the Storehouse was to be maintained. There appears at first to have been no other arrangement made for the surplus. Later, the importance of the question of capital, in order to provide new stewardships, and to increase the productive power of the old ones, seems to have received some consideration, and the stewards were encouraged to sell their surplus and place the money in a general treasury, which was to be controlled by common consent and not by the Bishop.[1] Such a procedure would naturally cut down very materially the means of support of the Storehouse. If, however, the Order concluded that the original consecrations were insufficient to provide all with a stewardship and to take care of the physically and mentally unfit, it would be an easy matter to appropriate a necessary amount from the General Treasury for this purpose; and since this would be in the form of money, the agent of the Storehouse could provide for the poor just what they required, which might not be the case if the contents of the Storehouse were simply the surplus yields of the various stewardships, such as apples, potatoes, grain, etc. This, as a matter of fact, was the expectation. The change was, no doubt, a good one. Under the earlier condition, the Storehouse would have become a very extensive institution. It would have handled very large quantities of goods of all kinds, and would have operated simply as a public institution, wherein the agents would have performed their functions without very strong incentives for efficient administration. Observation tends to show that the bishops, down to the present time, have not taken care of the tithe contents of the Storehouses with the care which maintains in ordinary business relations. This is not altogether a reflection on the bishops, for they are under the necessity of making their own living and a proper care of the Storehouse, at certain seasons, might easily develop into a business by itself. As it first began, it would have been a very extensive business. Cash payments reduced its importance, but increased the possibility of accomplishing the desired ends.

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1 *Doctine and Covenants,* Sec. 104:68.

II. Mercantile Operations

Capital.—The Storehouse, with its attendant consecrations of property and of surplus, greatly reduced the need of capital for the mercantile house. It was hoped at first that very little would be required and that it could be made out of the business. The Indian Territory was close by and the Indian tribes were fast being moved there. Naturally they required food, etc. A market of some extent was, therefore, close at hand. But as we have already seen, the influx of new Mormon settlers was so fast and their equipment so meagre, that it was almost more than the young community could do to support itself and no surplus of consequence was produced; therefore, the need for capital with which to place the store on its feet became greater and greater as time went on.

It is probable that the capital which Gilbert and Whitney had invested in their store at Kirtland, when they joined the Mormon church, remained in, and formed the nucleus of, the capital for both the store at Independence and for the one at Kirtland; which, together, became the United Firm of the United Order in April, 1832.[1] Further definite information on capitalization is not available.

Organization.—When the first Mormons began to settle in Independence proper, in the fall of 1831, the question arose whether Gilbert and Whitney should sell their store at Kirtland. It was decided that these men should keep their store in order to provide for the "saints" who remained at Kirtland.[2] Sidney Gilbert, however, a member of the Kirtland firm, was chosen to act as agent for the church in the purchase of land in Jackson County, and was given the task of setting up a store in connection with the "Lord's Storehouse" at that place.[3] Beginnings were made during the winter of 1831-32 in the establishment of this concern. In April, 1832, the Central Board of the United Order was established.[4] It consisted of Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, and Newel K. Whitney, who was the other member of the privately owned store at Kirtland. This board immediately organized what was called the United Firm, with a branch at Independence to be known under the name of Gilbert, Whitney and Co., and a branch at Kirtland to be called Newel K. Whitney and Co. Sidney Gilbert was appointed agent of the

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1 See, Life of N. K. Whitney, *Latter-day Saints, Biographical Encyclopedia,* pp. 225, *et seq.*

2 "Revelation" of August, 1831, *Times and Seasons,* vol. 5, No. 6, p. 467..

3 *Doctrine and Covtnants,* Sec. 58:6-9.

4 *Ibid.,* Sec 82:11-12.

firm at Independence and Newel K. Whitney agent at Kirtland.[1] From this time on the Central Board functioned as the controlling body and the two agents as the active executives who operated the two establishments.[2]

Business Methods.—In April, 1832, the Central Board decided that the United Firm should borrow $15,000 at 6%, Newel K. Whitney to act as agent.[3] As to whether this loan was actually consummated or not, the records do not inform us. The Firm did, however, purchase goods from New York on time.[4] The difficulty of keeping up the stock of goods became ever greater due to the practice of selling to customers on credit.[5] Sidney Gilbert stood out strongly against the practice but the necessities of the poor were so great that Joseph Smith required that the store accommodate them, admonishing the irate Sidney to bestir himself more vigorously "for the Lord had placed him there for that very purpose."[6] The task appeared to require the making of something out of nothing, but the agent addressed himself to it. Unexpected loans made possible a liquidation of debts at New York shortly after the Exodus.[7]

So far as Independence was concerned the credit of the store remained unimpaired, but relief by borrowing was only of temporary assistance. The burden was simply pushed a little farther ahead. The great impoverishment to the people generally resulting from the expulsion from the county, and the loss of their property, reacted strongly on the credit situation at the Kirtland

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1 Roberts, *History of the Mormon Church, Americana*, vol 5, pp. 469-70. Also Joseph Smith, *History of the Church, Period I*, vol. 1, p. 270.

2 The minutes in full of the only meeting of the kind which the United Firm held, follows:

"Minutes of a Meeting of the United Firm

Present:

Joseph Smith, Jr., President of Conference and also of the High Priesthood.
Oliver Cowdery, Clerk of Conference and printer to the church.
Edward Partridge, Bishop.
Newel K. Whitney, Bishop of Kirtland.
Sidney Gilbert, Agent in Zion.
Sidney Rigdon, Counsellor of President.
John Whitmer, Lord's clerk.
William W. Phelps, printer to the church.
Jessie Gauss, Counsellor to the President (denied the faith).

Resolved: That A. S. Gilbert and Newel K. Whitney be appointed agents to act in the name of this firm.

Resolved: That when ever any special business occur it shall be the duty of the United Firm by their branches at Jackson County, Missouri, and Geauga County, Ohio, to regulate the same by special agency.

Resolved: That the firm loan fifteen thousand dollars for five years or longer at six per cent annually or semi-annually as the agreement can be made, and that Newel K. Whitney and Company be appointed to negotiate the same.

Closed. Prayer by Brother Sidney Rigdon.

Oliver Cowdery, Clerk of Conference.
Far West Record, April 30, 1832."

3 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 270.

4 See letter of F. G. Williams to the Brethren in Zion, Oct. 10, 1833.—Pub. in Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 417-18.

5 See letter of Joseph Smith to the Brethren in Zion, April 21, 1833. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 417-18.

Branch, for the church borrowed some $6,000 to relieve the poor in Missouri.[1] The building of the Kirtland temple, at a cost of $40,000.00, was also a very great drain on the resources of the comparatively small membership of the infant church during the years 1833-36.[2] Most strenuous efforts were made to gather donations and about $27,000.00 was raised for the purpose. But with all that could be done a deficit of $13,000.00 remained in 1836 on the temple building account.[3] Other debts were contracted in considerable amounts in purchasing land in Kirtland at a time when prices were high and near the point of breaking. Part payments only were made and the balance became incumbrances on the lands.[4] The printing of Mormon church literature was considered a most important matter and was accomplished, but at a very high cost, due in part to the loss of the printing establishment at Independence.[5] Several thousand dollars was also lost in building a steam sawmill which proved unprofitable.[6] All these things reacted on the store at Kirtland and with the progressive impoverishment of the people, it tended to suffer the same fate.

Nor did the Kirtland branch of the United Firm always have a monopoly of Mormon trade in Kirtland. The temple building committee, consisting of Hyrum Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and Jared Carter conducted a store, temporarily, in order to assist in getting means with which to erect that house. Leading men in the church contributed enough (Orson Hyde donated $275.00) to enable the committee to get their enterprise started under the direction of Reynolds Cahoon.[7] The loss of this trade must have proved somewhat of a drawback to the Kirtland store. The spirit of speculation which ran rampant through the states at this time

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1 *Messenger and Advocate,* April, 1837, p. 488.

2 Eliza R. Snow gives the following account of the conditions under which the Kirtland temple was built: At that time the saints were few in number, and most of them very poor; and had it not been for the assurance that the Lord had spoken, and, had commanded that a house should be built to His name, of which He not only revealed the form, but also designated the dimensions, an attempt towards building that temple, under the then existing circumstances, would have been by all concerned, pronounced proposterous. . . . . From the day the ground was broken for laying the foundation for the temple, until its dedication on the 27th of March, 1836, the work was vigorously prosecuted. With very little capital except brain, bone, and sinew, combined with unwavering trust in God, men, women, and even children, worked with their might; while the brethren labored in their departments, the sisters were actively engaged in boarding and clothing workmen not otherwise provided for, all living as astemiously as possible, so that every cent might be appropriated to the grand object, while their energies were stimulated by the prospect of participating in the blessings of a house built by the direction of the Most High and accepted by Him."—*Historical Record,* vol. 5, no. 6, pp. 75-76.

3 *Messenger and Advocate,* April, 1837, p. 488.

4 Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints,* pp. 26-27.

5 In the petition to Governor Dunklin, the printing establishment was valued at $6,000.00. See *Evening and Morning Star,* p. 228.

6 Corrill, *op.cit.,* pp. 26-27.

7 See Orson Hyde's letter to Joseph Smith, Dec. 15, 1835, *Millenial Star,* vol. 15, pp. 519-20. Also vol. 14, p. 425.

finally found its way into Kirtland,[1] and into the business methods of the store. Large accounts were run at New York houses and elsewhere and the people were given time.[2] Corrill says that these debts amounted to thirty thousand dollars and later to some fifty or sixty thousand dollars.[3] When the great panic of 1837 struck the country, the Kirtland store was practically ruined in the crash. Within a few months the church leaders concluded to move to Missouri. Thus ended the main business enterprise of the United Order of Independence.[4]

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1 S. A. Davis, editor of *Glad Tidings*, a Universalist publication, visited Kirtland in 1837 and writes an account of his impressons, which are found in the *Messenger and Advocate*, April, 1837, pp. 409-411. He says: "They seem to have too much worldly wisdom connected with their religion—too great a desire for the perishable riches of this world—holding out the idea that the kingdom of Christ is to be composed of 'real estate, flocks, silver, gold, as well as of human beings. But let this pass.'"

2 D. L. Leonard, *The Mormon Sojourn in Ohio, Ohio Church History Society Papers*, vol. 1, p. 57.

3 Corrill, *op.cit.*, pp. 26-27.

4 Writers unfriendly to Mormonism have found much material for comment in the later Kirtland period of Mormon history. This period follows the one in which the United Order was dominant. The present writer made a careful investigation of the Kirtland epoch in order to find additional material bearing on the years immediately preceding. It is with some measure of confidence, therefore, that the following comments are made: The Kirtland period is the darkest and in some ways the most questionable one in the history of Mormonism. The church had become entangled in debt, due in part to losses incidental to their expulsion from Jackson County, Missouri, and in part to undertakings more, in temple building, in printing of Mormon literature, and in affecting a gathering of the "saints," than the resources of the comparatively poor saints warranted. They found themselves in financial difficulties which increased instead of diminished. The Printing Establishment was a constant source of embarrassment and loss. Joseph Smith's diary reveals how big a share of his thoughts and struggles were devoted to this concern. It is quite evident, as one reads, that a gallant effort was made during these years to meet the many obligations that crowded heavier and heavier upon them. The steam sawmill was a legitimate, but as events proved, an unwise effort. The store, with Newel K. Whitney, an experienced business man, conducting it, was operated in a conservative, business-like manner until the nation-wide speculative spirit of 1836 struck Kirtland. It then followed the general example and departed from sound practice, both in the purchase of too large consignments of goods on time and in allowing too much credit to customers. The Kirtland Safety Society banking venture was not a church undertaking, but was organized by the leading men in the church. It was simply one of the many wild-cat banking ventures which sprang up everywhere in the states during the thirties. The principles underlying credit were not well understood then and the common belief was that "credit made money." Joseph Smith encouraged his people to take stock in the business and held out in anticipation the prospect of large profits. The society was handicapped by the legislature refusing to grant them a charter. Having already purchased plates, etc., they decided to change the name of the business to the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Co. and began to do business, issuing notes, without a charter. After issuing the notes and making loans, they found, in due course of time, that since they had issued the notes without a charter, they could not make collections on them. Failure was the inevitable result, though there is also claimed to have been some dishonesty on the part of Warren Parrish. When the trend of things became evident, Joseph Smith resigned his position as cashier. He also issued a warning to the public which was printed in the *Messenger and Advocate*, August, 1837, p. 55, telling them to beware of the notes for they were worthless. Joseph Smith left Kirtland hurriedly, January 12, 1838, and his business affairs and those of the church were in an unsettled state when he left; but he did not "run away from his debts," as has frequently been charged. He appointed Col. Oliver Granger his agent "to close out all his business affairs in the Eastern States." When Granger died, he appointed Reuben McBride of Kirtland, agent "to wind up any remaining business which had been left in an unfinished condition." The brief span of extravagance in the church membership, in 1836-37, and the panic of 1837, caused the Mormons to lose practically all their property, including the temple. Their creditors did not fare so badly. So far as Joseph Smith and the church itself were concerned, honorable settlements were made, and such was also the case with the great majority of the members, who simply turned back their farms on which they had made part payment, and thus lost what they had put into them. Others who owned property came to the assistance of the church and made it possible to pay off the church debts.

It should be borne in mind that the United Order effort practically ceased to function at the time of the exodus from Jackson County. I have traced briefly the later history of the Kirtland branch of the United Firm because of its earlier connection with the United Order.

III. The Printing Concern

Cost.—At a conference (place unmentioned, but probably at Hiram, Ohio,) W. W. Phelps was instructed, early in the fall of 1831, to stop at Cincinnati, on his way to Missouri, and purchase press and type with which to establish a paper in Independence to be known as the *Evening and Morning Star*.[1]. Just how much he paid for this printing equipment is not stated. When the estimate of the loss, suffered in consequence of the destruction of the concern by the Old Settlers was made and incorporated in the petition to Governor Dunklin, its value was placed at $6,000.[2] This included, besides the press and type, the home of W. W. Phelps[3] in which the printing establishment was housed and items of furniture and fixtures which were destroyed, also books which had been printed, such as part of the first edition of the *Book of Commandments*..[4] To this was probably added something corresponding to "good will" and representing the capitalized value of the firm as a "going concern" with an established circulation and a growing business. That such items were figured in, is quite evident from a statement in Joseph Smith's Diary, Dec. 27, 1833, in which he says the establishment "with the book work and furniture had cost three or four thousand dollars."[5] This latter estimate is probably nearer the actual outlay, although it gives only a very general idea of the exact cost. It is probable that no exact statement of cost was available to Joseph Smith for the reason that the labor involved in transporting the press, type, etc., from Cincinnati to Independence and of building a house which would be suitable for both a printing office and a home, was probably not translated into a money equivalent. Much of the labor of those days was of the voluntary kind which the burden of getting things started required, but which was not counted as wage or day labor. So only approximate estimates of cost are possible. Three or four thousand dollars represents, then, a rough, general statement of actual cost, which is probably as near the facts as it is possible to get.

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1 *Times and Seasons,* vol. 5, No. 7, pp. 780-81.
2 *Evening and Morning Star,* vol. 2, p. 228.
3 A two-story brick structure, see *Times and Seasons,* vol. 1, p. 18.
4 *Church History (Reorganized)*—Joseph and Heman Smith, vol. 1, pp. 350-53.
5 *Millenniel Star,* vol. 14, p. 683.

Probable Income.—Figures of consequence on income are not available. A few published statements and general inferences only must serve to guide us to a few conclusions. The *Evening and Morning Star* was published monthly at $1.00 per year[1] It is probable that a large proportion of the church membership subscribed for it, and in that case, the list may have reached some two or three hundred. Since no advertisements were printed in it, the subscriptions must have been the principal means of revenue so far as the *Star* itself was concerned. The August, 1832, number of the *Star* makes mention of another paper, in which advertisements were to have a part as follows: "In connection with the *Star*, we publish a weekly paper, entitled, the *Upper Missouri Advertiser*. It will contain sketches of the news of the day, politics, advertisements, and whatever tends to promote the interest of the great West."[2] Meagre, indeed, are references to the *Upper Missouri Advertiser* in the *Star* or other later Mormon publications. It must have played but a minor role. This inference is borne out by the general conditions of the time: the business of advertising was not highly developed in those days; non-Mormon business houses in Independence and surrounding towns would not likely support a Mormon publication at a time when intense opposition was developing; and there was little business to advertise in Independence, either among the Mormons or non-Mormons. So very small must have been the income from advertising.

The printing of books remains as a possible means of adding something to the *Star* and *Upper Missouri Advertiser* subscriptions.[3] The printing of the *Book of Commandments* was early determined upon. At a "special" Conference at Hiram, Ohio, held November 1, 1831, which was very soon after the press was purchased, it was decided to publish 10,000 copies of that book.[4] But such an undertaking had to abide its time in the young city when so many things called for the efforts of those who were attempting to found it. When the Central Board came into being in April, 1832, it was decided to cut down the number from 10,000 to 3,000 copies, but to publish also an edition of hymn books.[5] This task was about finished[6] when the old settlers broke up

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1 *Evening and Morning Star,* vol. 1, p. 1.

2 Extract printed in Joseph Smith, *op.cit.,* p. 281.

3 The *Upper Missouri Advertiser* was not reestablished after the press was destroyed. "Joseph and Heman Smith, *op.cit.,* p. 316."

4 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.,* vol. 1, p. 22, also footnote.

5 *Ibid.,* p. 270 .

6 See letter of Sidney Rigdon dated July 2, 1833, giving instructions concerning the consignment of a box of books to Kirtland. *Millenial Star,* vol. 14, pp. 451-52.

the establishment and appropriated the press and type and the book work which was nearing completion.[1]

Governor Dunklin's advice to make use of the courts for redress was followed, but with poor results. The lawyers employed, required $1,000 for their services. The Old Settlers turned the press and type over to Messrs. Davis and Kelly, of Liberty, Ray County, who began to publish a weekly paper called the *Missouri Enquirer*. These men paid the lawyers $300 for the *Star* property and it was applied on the $1,000 fee account.[2]

Thus ended the Independence career of the Printing Concern. Seven hands had been employed in the office and three families had depended upon the establishment as a means of livelihood.[3]

Work Accomplished by the Printing Establishment.—A consideration which weighed very heavily on the leaders of Mormonism in the early days was the getting of the "revelations," and other church literature, printed so that it could come before the people.[4] The press at Independence contributed somewhat towards the accomplishment of this purpose. Each issue of the *Star* contained some of the "revelations," various hymns, and also extracts from the *Book of Mormon*, or other such works. It contributed also substantially towards bringing about a successful gathering of the church membership to Independence and an orderly building up of that place through instructions and counsel that were printed from time to time. It assisted materially in uniting the church together by spreading information and by overcoming in part the difficulties resulting from the considerable distance which separated the two centers of the church. It further gave various members of the church an opportunity to use their literary talents. The publication of the *Book of Commandments* was practically accomplished, and along with it the first edition of hymn books.[5] It was a real accomplishment simply to operate a press as far west as Independence. W. W. Phelps & Co. was 120 miles farther from civilization than any other press in the state, and was only 12 miles from the western boundary of the states at that time.[6] All in all, bearing in mind the fact that the concern was in operation only about fourteen months, Messrs. Phelps and Cowdery made considerable progress with their small establishment.

Since the affairs of the second printing concern of the church were conditioned, in part, by the loss of the first, and since considerable light is thrown on the conditions of the time by it, our

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1 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 390.
2 *Millennial Star*, vol. 14, p. 683.
3 Joseph and Heman Smith, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 376.
4 See for example an account of a prayer meeting held at Kirtland, Jan. 1, 1834, *Millenial Star*, vol. 14, p. 685.
5 A copy of this first edition is to be found in the New York City Public Library.
6 *Evening and Morning Star*, vol. 1, June, 1832, p. 8.

inquiry may profitably be extended to include it, although the first United Order effort was practically a thing of the past at this time. On Sept. 11, 1833, a printing firm, known as Frederick G. Williams and Company was established at Kirtland, Ohio, to edit a newspaper, the *Messenger and Advocate*, and to print the *Evening and Morning Star* until such time as the latter could be re-established at Independence, Mo. Oliver Cowdery, who was a member of the Literary Firm, was appointed to conduct the concern.[1] On October 19, 1833, a council at Kirtland decided to discontinue work on the temple until spring and immediately to build a printing office, "to be thirty feet by thirty-eight on the ground, the first story to be occupied for the School of the Prophets this winter, and the upper story for the printing press."[2] In the meantime, Oliver Cowdery went to New York with $800.00 with which to purchase a new press and type. He and Bishop Whitney returned to Kirtland with their purchases about Dec. 1, 1833.[3] Work on the *Evening and Morning Star* was commenced immediately and the December number was soon thereafter issued. On Dec. 18, 1833, the press, etc., was dedicated.[4] From this time on the concern followed a difficult course. Oliver Cowdery continued as editor until the middle of May, 1835, when John Whitmer succeeded him.[5] On June 7, 1836, Oliver Cowdery again became editor.[6] Eight months later Warren A. Cowdery succeeded him, or rather became agent for Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon who were to act as editors.[7] During this period the paper changed names several times. From December 1833, to September, 1834, the *Evening and Morning Star* continued to be printed. By this time it had become evident that the return to Independence would have to be postponed indefinitely, so the Independence paper was superseded by the *Messenger and Advocate*,[8] which continued to be published until October, 1837, when the first number of the *Elders' Journal* appeared.[9] Two numbers only of this paper were printed before the fire came which destroyed both the building and the press.[10] Not only was the name of the paper changed several times, but the firm passed through a number of different hands, though the church owned a considerable interest in it throughout. Frederick G Williams seems to have been the principal owner at the beginning, in Sep-

1 *Millenial Star*, vol. 14, p. 504.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 14, pp. 519-20.
3 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, p. 915.
4 *Millennial Star*, vol. 14, p. 681.
5 *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 283.
6 *Messenger and Advocate*, June, 1836, p. 329.
7 *Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 845.
8 *Church History*, Joseph and Heman Smith, vol. 1, p. 525.
9 *Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 55.
10 *Ibid.*, vol. 16, pp. 109, 130.

tember, 1833.[1] On April 23, 1834, the concern was constituted a stewardship and given to F. G. Williams and Oliver Cowdery.[2] On June 7, 1836, Oliver Cowdery gave out the information that he had purchased the entire establishment,[3] but a few months later when he severed his connection with the firm, it was Oliver Cowdery & Co. who went out of business. Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon finally took it over on Feb. 1, 1837.[4]

During the four years of its continuance the second church printing establishment was constantly in debt. Borrowing was early resorted to. Instead of business prospects picking up, the firm encountered increasing obstacles. Loans were made with difficulty.[5] Private individuals assisted with some loans.[6] One of the church branches made a loan.[7] Recourse was also had to banks.[8] But money could not be borrowed fast enough from Peter to pay for loans that had been made from Paul and conditions went from bad to worse. In May, 1837, the "office and contents"were transferred to Wm. Marks of Portage, Allegheny County, the office being continued by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, by power of attorney from Marks,[9] with the hope that threatening attachment could be warded off. But the bad times which the panic of 1837 brought on were too much for the ill-nourished firm and it was attached for debt[10] and was soon after burned to the ground. The Parrish party were blamed for the burning.[11]

Thus ended the second determined, but troubled, effort of Joseph Smith and his associates to get Mormon literature before the world.

IV. The Literary Firm

Just as the Storehouse and the Mercantile concern were closely connected, so were the Printing business and the Literary Firm. So close was the connection between the latter two that one is led to wonder at times, if they were not one and the same business unit. Opposed to this, however, is the fact that the

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1 Chief reliance for this conclusion is the name of the firm, F. G. Williams & Co. For an account of the firm's organization see *Millennial Star,* vol. 14, p, 504.

2 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 104:29-30.

3 *Messenger and Advocate,* June, 1836, p. 329.

4 *Millennial Star,* vol. 15, p. 845.

5 *Millenial Star,* vol. 15, pp. 23, 25; also D. S. Leonard, "Mormon Sojourn in Ohio."—*Ohio Church Hist. Society Papers,* vol. 1, p. 57, *et.seq.*

6 *Millennial Star,* vol. 15, p. 368.

7 *Ibid.,* vol. 15, pp. 202-03.

8 *Ibid.,* vol. 15, p. 503.

9 *Ibid.,* vol. 16, p. 11.

10 J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism,* p. 170.

11 *Millennial Star,* vol 16, pp. 109, 130.

printing establishment was at one time considered a stewardship[1] and later belonged to one man.[2] During this same period the Literary Firm was an active organization.[3]. This makes it certain that the two are distinct concerns.

The Literary Firm was organized in November, 1831, when by "revelation" the "revelations and commandments" were constituted a joint stewardship for Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps.[4] Whatever returns could be had through the publication and sale of the "sacred writings" were to go to these men, except, that should the income be more than was necessary for their support, the surplus should go into the Storehouse.[5] In other words, the Literary Firm was simply an enlarged or joint stewardship in which a number of men were included, but which in other respects, was subject to the same conditions as the ordinary single stewardship. It does not appear that the Firm was to be limited to the publishing of the revelations or commandments only, but was to engage in the business of printing and selling any sacred writings."[6]

The men whose special business it thus became to get sacred literature before the church, were chiefly those who had had part in the bringing forth of the *Book of Mormon*, and the *Book of Commandments*. They were not all able writers themselves, nor were some of them particularly well fitted to select good literature, but with the exception of W. W. Phelps they had all assisted materially with one or both of the books above mentioned. W. W. Phelps, as printer for the church, was a logical member. These men were considered to be entitled to a share in the returns from the sale of the books. It was not the intention, therefore, to bring into the Literary Firm all of the able writers in the church, nor was it the intention that the Firm should exercise a monopoly on the production of all church literature, even of what might be termed the sacred class of writings. The Pratt brothers were never members of the Literary Firm, although they were among the ablest of early church writers. It is of interest to observe also that the traveling elders were early encouraged to contribute accounts of their efforts and experiences to the *Evening and Morning Star*.[7] So, general encouragement was given to all to write.

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104:29-30.

2 *Messenger and Advocate*, June, 1830, p. 329.

3 See account of meeting of members published in *Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 728-29.

4 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 70:1-11.

5 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 70:7.

6 This view was taken by the members of the Firm as is seen in the early decision to print hymn books.

7 See *Evening and Morning Star*, vol. 1, p. 112; vol. 2, p. 24. *passim*.

But it was the particular business of the Literary Firm to engage in the publication and sale of sacred literature, and to make their living out of that business.

The special conference, held at Hiram, Ohio, November 1, 1831, which had decided to publish 10,000 copies of the *Book of Commandments*,[1] made this decision shortly before the Literary Firm was organized. A majority of the Firm who had made their homes at Independence, during the fall of that year, felt that such an edition would be too large, so it was decided, in April, 1832, to reduce the number to 3,000 copies, but also to print a first edition of hymn books.[2]

When the "press and book work" were demolished at Independence, just as these two editions were about to be completed, both the Printing Company and the Literary Firm suffered considerable loss. The former losing more than the entire value of the plant since the $300 which was recovered from the old settlers was less than one third enough to pay the lawyers' fees; while the latter firm saw the results of all their work and waiting, since they began to operate in November, 1831, go for almost nothing through the destruction of most of the "book work."

After the new printing firm, Frederick G. William & Co., was established in Kirtland, in the fall of 1834, it was possible to recommence work on the *Book of Commandments* and the hymn books. The Literary Firm found it necessary to wait some time, however, before these books could be published.[3] In the meantime the hard pressed Printing Co., required assistance from whatever sources were available.[4] The Literary Firm, while more interested in the welfare of the Printing Company, than any others

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1 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 222, footnote.

2 The *For West Record* of April 30 ,1832, contains the minutes of this meeting which are herewith reproduced:

MINUTES OF A COUNCIL OF THE LITERARY FIRM, ZION, APRIL 30, 1832

Present:

Joseph Smith, Jr.	Oliver Cowdery
Sidney Rigdon	William W. Phelps
John Whitmer	Jesse Gauss,
	(*One of the President's Counsellors*)

Ordered by the council that three thousand copies of the *Book of Commandments* be printed the first edition.

Secondly: Ordered by the council that the printing of an almanac for Zion this season be left at the option of Brothers William, Oliver, and John.

Thirdly: Ordered by the council that all revelations be limited to the parties concerned until printed.

Fourthly: Ordered by the council that Brothers William, Oliver and John be appointed to review the *Book of Commandments* and select for printing such as shall be deemed by them proper, as dictated by the Spirit and make all necessary verbal corrections.

Fifthly: Ordered by the council that the hymns selected by Sister Emma be corrected by Brother William W. Phelps. Closed."

3 The Second Edition was published in 1835 and contains the "revelations" to Nov., 1834; copies of both the first and second editions are to be found at the New York Public Library.

4 See the account of the Second Priting Establishment in the footnote of the preceding section.

for the reason that they could not operate their stewardship unless the printing office were kept going, were not in a position to render much help. They needed help themselves badly, for their stewardship was very slow in bringing in any returns.[1] In the meantime expenses and debts began to grow in importance.[2] On September 16, 1835, the Literary Firm decided to conduct its business affairs through a committee. David Whitmer and Samuel H. Smith were appointed "the committee and general agents, to act in the name of, and for, the Literary Firm."[3] On April 2, 1836, the Firm, being very sorely pressed, met and decided that Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery should try to raise means to purchase land in Missouri for the benefit of the "council." The Council mentioned here probably refers to the Central United Order Board, four-fifths of which as we have already seen were also members of the Literary Firm. Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams were also appointed at this meeting to try, with the available stock on hand, claims due, and by such other means as they deem proper to discharge the company's debts." It was also agreed that W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer and David Whitmer have 500 books of *Doctrine and Covenants* and 500 hymn books and that "Messrs. Phelps and John Whitmer be released from the responsibility of all claims on them or either of them as joint partners in the Firm."[4]

The Literary Firm continued to function long after the United Order had ceased to operate in a comprehensive way. This is clear from the incidents just referred to and also from a resolution passed at a general meeting held in Far West, Mo., about the last of May, 1837, in which the Literary Firm was "sanctioned" and it was "resolved to give them our voice and prayers, to manage all concerns of the same, as far as it concerns this place, according to the revelations in the book of *Doctrine and Covenants*."[5] But the firm was not very productive and several members of it became increasingly dissatisfied primarily because of their large losses in Jackson County and their later inability to recuperate themselves at Kirtland. Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps engaged in transactions in Far West, Mo., where they were then living, which the church at that place could not tolerate, and they were dropped from their church offices, and a little later, were excommunicated.[6] Martin Harris, dissatisfied also, remained in Kirtland, when the church removed from that place, and, to all

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1 For references showing the financial condition of these men see *Millenial Star*, vol. 15. pp. 23-25, 342-43, 368, 610.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. 15, pp. 368, 610.
3 *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 308.
4 *Ibid.*, vol. 15, pp. 728-29.
5 *Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 9-10.
6 *Ibid.*, vol. 16, pp. 116-17, 133.

intents and purposes, left the church.[1] The summer of 1838, therefore, found only two members left, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, of the original members of the firm. Sidney Rigdon became less and less active, perhaps because of serious illness particularly after the settlement of the Mormons at Nauvoo in 1839. W. W. Phelps on rejoining the church in July, 1840, took up again the same kind of work with Joseph Smith and assisted him in compiling the *Doctrine and Covenants* and a *History of the Church* frequent reference to whch has been made in this book. Less and less is heard of the Literary Firm and very little information as to the manner in which it was handled in the later years, is available.

The Literary firm outlasted all of the other United Order undertakings. It is of particular interest from the standpoint of the present study for the reason that it was a joint stewardship. The corporation type of organization with its charter and shares of stock was not used in the United Order, neither was the partnership used. The single enterpriser type predominated.

In some respects the joint stewardship resembled a partnership, since all were equal and all were supposed to share alike.[2] But in a partnership, each partner is liable for all the debts of the firm, and in the Literary Firm some of the members were released from all liability. There is no reason why a joint stewardship could not include any number of members. While its exact status was not worked out, some of its features may be contrasted with the modern corporation.

A corporation derives its powers from a charter, but the joint stewardship had no charter. Stock in a corporation may be owned by an individual in any amount; in the joint stewardship, however, each one was considered to be equally interested. Control of a corporation is dependent on the amount of stock owned, whereas, each member had an equal voice in the joint stewardship. A corporation operates through a definite organization which is provided for in the charter, while a joint stewardship possessed no definte organization, but conducted its business through certain of its members who were selected as agents. A corporation gives to owners of stock limited liability ordinarily amounting to the value

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1 *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 57.

2 A limitation was placed on the control of the Literary Firm by its members shortly after the expulsion from Jackson County when, by revelation, it was specified that the contents of the "sacred treasury" (Literary Firm treasury) were not to be used except "by common consent or by commandment." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104.) This meant that through Joseph Smith ultimate control of this treasury was to be exercised. Since, however, the Literary Firm was to engage exclusively in the business of publishing "sacred" literature and since Joseph Smith had been reponsible for these "writings" it seems reasonable that he should retain considerable control over the returns from their publication. Had other joint-stewardships been established, it is safe to infer that they would not have been subject to such an arrangement.

of the stock owned, but the joint stewardship resolved to release two of its members from all debt liability and at the same time gave them a substantial part of the property of he firm. No suit was ever instituted to test the validity of this release.

If the United Order were in operation today it is probable that the corporation form of organization would be made use of for business units which would be suitable for the joint stewardship, but that means would be found to preserve the equality of ownership and of control which was inherent in the joint stewardship, and which constituted, from many standpoints, so desirable a feature of it. This, it is evident, could be very easily accomplished by an equal ownership of shares of stock.

In addition to the Storehouse, the United Firm, the Printing Company and the Literary Firm, that have now been considered there existed also a grist mill and some "mechanic" shops. Both "shops" and "mills" are mentioned in the *Historical Record*.[1] Lyman Wright also includes the mill in enumerating the Jackson County losses.[2] But information beyond a mere statement of their existence is not available.

1 *Historical Record* (Salt Lake City, 1886-90), vol. 5, No. 1, p. 3.
2 *Millennial Star*, vol 17, p. 435.

NOTES

Ward Teachers' Work in Recent Years

It is quite evident that the effectiveness of a teachers' organization, in making possible a solution of the charity problem within the church, rests largely on whether it functions or not. Will an unpaid teachers' organization make its visits regularly and do its work thoroughly? Under Mormon leadership, particularly in recent years, the answer is a strong affirmative. The best example of the possibilities in successful administration on a fairly large scale is found in the Oneida stake. The president of the stake[1] began in 1910 to make plans for a drive on ward teachers' work. He had in mind not simply a good thorough-going effort, but no less than a 100 per cent record, on ward teachers' work throughout the entire stake, consisting of twenty-one wards, a record in administration which had never before been attained in the church and quite certainly, bearing in mind the number involved and the fact that voluntary, unpaid service was to be depended upon to do the work, had never before been equaled at any time. His intention was to make the ward teaching highly efficient and to make it the backbone of an attack on a number of church problems. The movement was duly launched under the leadership of the Stake Presidency, twelve High Counsellors and twenty-one Ward Bishoprics. The best men in each community were drafted into the teachers' work. Year by year the record mounted, but it was not until 1915 that 100 per cent was achieved. In this year, the men above mentioned, succeeded in getting the ward teachers, some 498 in number, to make their monthly visits to every family in the stake each month in the year. A population of 8274 was thus reached by personal visits at least once a month.[2] This 100 per cent record has been maintained regularly each year since 1915, except in 1920 when the stake was divided and effort had to be directed to matters connected with new organization and new machinery.

During this period the Oneida Stake has stood above the church average in almost everything concerning which the church keeps records. Many interesting incidents occurred during this noteworthy effort, but a narrative of such episodes, interesting as they are, would carry us far afield.

No less than seven of the stakes now regularly reach the 100 per cent mark. Such a character of work in the better led stakes should not obscure the fact that the average for the whole church, thus far, while relatively high for unpaid service, and sufficiently thorough, practically everywhere to provide the Bishoprics with enough information in addition to that which their own acquaintance with the poor gives, to enable them to dispense charity on a sound basis, is, nevertheless, much lower. The following table gives the percentage records on Ward Teachers' Work for 1921, for all the stakes in the church.

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1 The stake presidency consisted of Joseph S. Geddes, president; James Johnson, first counsellor; Taylor Nelson, second counsellor.

2 These figures were furnished by Walter K. Barton, formerly Stake Clerk of Oneida Stake. Mr. Barton's figures show further information as follows:

	1915	1916	1917	1918
No. of wards	21	21	21	21
No. of ward teachers	498	492	502	496
Population (Mormon and non-Mormon) 8,.....		8,274	8,297	8,365

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES VISITED BY WARD TEACHERS ACCORDING TO STAKES,[1] 1921

Juarez	82
Raft River	77
Oneida	100
Twin Falls	99
Ogden	99
Snowflake	80
Bear Lake	100
Idaho	76
Young	84
Alberta	48
Bannock	69
Maricopa	66
Big Horn	80
Curlew	43
Malad	57
Burley	100
Millard	51
Cassia	70
Portneuf	40
San Juan	82
Cache	100
Deseret	60
Logan	100
Montpelier	100
Morgan	65
Pocatello	54
St. George	43
St. Johns	39
St. Joseph	73
Boise	73
Lost River	43
Moapa	15
Duchesne	63
Garfield	60
Granite	56
South Davis	98
Star Valley	57
Taylor	42
Teton	46
Woodruff	66
Blackfoot	64
Blaine	80
Panguitch	36
Fremont	64
Hyrum	79
Parowan	42
Pioneer	83
Wasatch	44
Yellowstone	62
Franklin	100
Jordan	55
Liberty	94
North Sanpete	83
North Weber	69
San Luis	72
Sevier	28
South Sevier	40
Union	39
Utah	53
Wayne	34
Bear River	80
Beaver	41
Box Elder	99
Carbon	50
Ensign	78
Kanab	26
Roosevelt	69
Salt Lake	68
Shelley	69
Tintic	87
Alpine	55
Bingham	42
Cottonwood	32
Emery	70
North Davis	68
Summit	45
Weber	84
Benson	48
Rigby	66
Tooele	58
Juab	43
Nebo	45
North Sevier	55
South Sanpete	46
Uintah	46

By arranging these percentages in consecutive order and by grouping them within class intervals of 5%, a frequency distribution is obtained from which a cumulative frequency may, also, readily be derived:

1 Seven out of 85 stakes achieved 100% in 1921. It will be clear, that if wards instead of stakes were to be considered the 100% record would be a larger one, for often, where a stake fails to reach 100%, a number of the wards within it do reach that mark. In 1921, out of 933 wards in the church, 144 or 15.42%, made a 100% record. See Annual Bulletin A—1921, compiled by Presiding Bishop's Office.

Frequency Distribution		Cumulative Frequency	
Percentages of Families visited	No. of Stakes	Percentages of Families visited	No. of Stakes
15—19.99%	1	15% and over	85
20—24.99 "	0	20% " "	84
25—29.99 "	2	25% " "	84
30—34.99 "	2	30% " "	82
35—39.99 "	3	35% " "	80
40—44.99 "	11	40% " "	77
45—49.99 "	7	45% " "	66
50—54.99 "	4	50% " "	59
55—59.99 "	7	55% " "	55
60—64.99 "	6	60% " "	48
65—69.99 "	10	65% " "	42
70—74.99 "	5	70% " "	32
75—79.99 "	4	75% " "	27
80—84.99 "	10	80% " "	23
85—89.99 "	1	85% " "	13
90—94.99 "	1	90% " "	12
95—100 "	11	95% " "	11

Little is to be gained from this irregular and limited data by the use of such refined measurements as the standard deviation and the probable error. It will be observed that there are four groups of percentages, 40-44.99, 65-69.99, 80-84.99, and 95-100, that are achieved by either ten or eleven stakes in each case. Between each of these concentrations there is a marked falling off. This multi modal tendency is probably due to the fact that only the results of a single year are here tabulated. The efforts of the church leaders on ward teachers' work has very greatly influenced the higher percentages. Apparently there are quite a number of stakes that have not been converted to the importance of teachers' work, and have not been much influenced by the recent efforts of the church along that line. The considerable number which have been pushed up to the 100% group, have, it would appear, been drawn from the "average" stakes, for there is a much smaller concentration close to the Mean (64.08%) than is found in the Normal Curve.

CHAPTER IX

AN EARLY EFFORT AT CITY PLANNING

Having located and laid the foundation of what was expected to grow into the world's first city, it was but natural for Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, who constituted the First Presidency of the church, to turn their attention upon plans for the building of the city. The first two years had been devoted to buying lands, providing shelter, etc. By mid-year of 1833, it was deemed time to begin to build along permanent lines in harmony with a definite design. The first sections of the plan which had been devised for the City of Zion were published in the July, 1833, number of the *Evening and Morning Star*, which, it will be recalled, was the last number printed in Independence. These plans would be of theoretical interest only, since they were not put into effect, if it were not for the fact that they served as a basis for the building of numerous towns and cities in the West later on.[1] An explanation of the plot for the City of Zion is found in two letters from the Presidency, dated June 24 and 25, 1833, from which the following extracts are taken:

This plot contains one mile square, all the squares of the plot contain ten acres each, being forty rods square. You will observe that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in one square running from the south and north to the line through the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from the east and west to the center line. Each lot is four perches in front, and twenty back, making one half an acre in each lot, so that no one street will be built on, entirely through the street, but, one square the houses will stand on one street; and on the next one, another, except the middle range of squares, which runs north and south, in which range are the painted squares.

The lots are laid off in these squares north and south, all of them; because these squares are forty perches by sixty, being twenty perches longer than the other, their greatest length being east and west, and by running all these squares, north and south, it makes all the lots in the city, of one size.

The painted squares in the middle are for public buildings. The one without any figures is for storehouses for the bishop, and to be devoted to his use. Figure first, is for temples for the use of the Presidency; the circles inside of the square, are the plans for the temple. You will see it contains twelve figures; two are for the temple of the lesser priesthood. It is also to contain twelve temples. The whole plot is supposed to contain from fifteen to twenty thousand people; you will, therefore, see that it will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses of worship, schools, etc. and none of these temples are to be

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1 Roberts, *History of the Mormon Church, Americana*, vol. 5, June, 1910, p. 599
2 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, pp. 785 87.

smaller than the one of which we send you a draft. This temple is to be built in the square marked, figure first, and to be built where the circle is, which has a cross on it; on the north and south of the plot where the line is drawn, is to be laid off for barns, stables, etc., for the use of the city, so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses, the ground to be occupied by these must be laid off according to order.

On the north and south are to be laid off the farms for the agriculturist, and sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot; and if it cannot be laid off without going to quite a distance from the city, there, there must also be some laid off on the east and west.

When this square is laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days, and let every man live in the city for this is the City of Zion. All the streets are of one width, being eight perches wide. Also the space around the outer edge of the painted squares, is to be eight perches between the temple and the street on every side.

No one lot, in this city, is to contain more than one house, and that to be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder the rest of the lot for gardens, etc., all of the houses to be built of brick and stone.

The names of the temples to be built on the painted squares, as represented on the plot of the City of Zion, which is now about to be forwarded thither; numbers 10, 11 and 12, are to be called House of the Lord, for the President of the High and Most Holy Priesthood, after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of the Son of God, upon Mount Zion of New Jerusalem. Numbers 7, 8, 9, the sacred apostolic repository, for the use of the bishop. Numbers 4, 5, and 6, the holy evangelical house, for the high priesthood of the Holy Order of God. Numbers 1, 2, and 3, the House of the Lord for the Elders of Zion, an ensign to the nations. Numbers 22, 23, 24, House of the Lord for the Presidency of the High Priesthood after the order of Aaron, a standard for the people. Numbers 19, 20 and 21, House of the Lord, for the High Priesthood after the order of Aaron, the law of the Kingdom of Heaven, messenger to the people. Numbers 16, 17 and 18. House of the Lord, for the teachers in Zion, messenger to the church. Numbers 13, 14 and 15, House of the Lord for the deacons in Zion, helps in the government. Underneath must be written on each house, "Holiness to the Lord".

The letter of June 25, changes the description of temples 19, 20 and 21, to "house of the Lord, the law of the Kingdom of Heaven, and messenger to the people; for the high priesthood after the order of Aaron."

A detailed description of the first temple to be built and which belonged to group 10, 11 and 12, is contained in the June 25th letter, also, but its inclusion would probably not be of interest to the readers of this book. The general features may be summarized as follows:—The dimensions were to be 87 feet by 61 feet, ten feet of the length being for a stairway; the materials were to be stone and brick; the height, two stories; the main assembly room was to contain two pulpits, one on each side; the seats were to be enclosed in pews and were to be constructed so that the occu-

pant could turn around and face either pulpit; gothic arches were to be built on both doors and windows.[1]

An analysis of this description of the City plot reveals a number of distinct objects that the planners were striving to attain.

Permanency was to be achieved by permitting no buildings to be erected in the city with less enduring materials than brick and stone. In those days steel and cement construction, so useful in making buildings fireproof, was unknown. Stone and brick represented the final word in enduring qualities, hence they were designated as the exclusive building material for temples, houses, etc.

Provisions against crowding were made in a number of ways. Since the gathering of large numbers within limited areas, and the resulting, conjested slums, has come to be one of the most serious, menacing, and at the same time, difficult problems that confronts modern cities, it is of interest to observe how it was proposed to prevent such conditions from arising. To begin with, one notes the broad streets, 8 rods wide, which means sunlight and air space, and the possibility of parking with grass, trees, shrubbery and flowers, thus providing a necessary condition for the maintenance of clean, healthy thoroughfares on which everybody spends a part, and some most of their time. Next, the arrangement and size of lots, attracts attention. Apartment houses, where large numbers of families live in the same building, were not contemplated here. A building site of 4 rods by 20, providing small, but comfortable, space for gardens and grounds, was to be placed in the possession of each family. The square mile, in addition to providing 24 blocks for public buildings, would comfortably accomodate, it was found, from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand people. When population increased sufficiently to warrant it, additional mile squares were to be laid off rather than allow any more to settle in the former area. So long as these features were adhered to, it is certain that no congested districts could develop.

Privacy and quiet surroundings for the home were insured by requiring each building to be 25 feet from the street, by making the lots long, and by arranging them so that no two lots faced each other across the street. On one block the lots were to face east and west and on the other north and south. In this way each house, instead of facing another one across the street would face the gardens of those who lived in the opposite block. Should these gardens be allowed to run to weeds, the view would be most seedy and deadening, but if well kept the effect would be to soothe the nerves and provide a daily "return to nature" for the city worker. Such a novelty in the arrangement of building space,

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[1] *cf.*, H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, footnote p. 26.

it is needless to say, would not appeal to many, but like other innovations, it could be made attractive and there are positive advantages connected with it, that make for quiet and privacy for the home. On one tier of blocks this arrangement was broken into by the fact that it measured 60 rods by 40 rods and in order to make all the lots the same size it was necessary to have them all face in the same direction.

Centralness and convenience of location for public buildings were to be realized by reserving twenty-four lots near the center of the square mile for public buildings which were to be called temples. Those living in the extreme corner would be only from four to six blocks away. Children attending school would hardly find it necessary to use conveyances at all for such distances. The use of diagonal alleys from the corners to the center of the mile square would largely remove the relative disadvantages resulting from greater distance from public buildings, but such alleys are not provided for in the original plot. The square blocks rule supreme, except in the large, 60x40 tier of blocks running through the center.

It is quite clear that if the city grew to large proportions and additional square miles were laid off, as was proposed, that some changes would be necessary. For instance, a building or temple for the Presidency of the church would not be required in each square mile. If the square mile were maintained as the unit, and each such division had its own set of public buildings, it would still be necessary to have some buildings in which the city as a whole would be interested. The first square mile, since it contained the temple site, would, no doubt, be considered the center. Nothing is said in the explanation of the plot concerning any matters going beyond the first square mile, except that additional squares similar to it were to be added as needed. Full centrality could be maintained only by adding square miles adjoining the first one in an artificial manner and cities do not grow that way ordinarily. It is quite certain that had the city grown to larger proportions it would have grown most rapidly on the side nearest the Missouri River, and then, the center of population would have shifted gradually in that direction.

Civic cleanliness received consideration in the unusual provision that barns, stables, etc., must be built outside the residence district, on the north and south sides of the mile square. Zion's farmers were not to live on their farms, but were to have homes in the city. If they desired to have animals near their homes, they must keep them in the restricted districts to the north and south which had been set aside for that purpose. Doing chores would not be a small task under such arrangements and the operation of a

farm would also be attended by many inconveniences. Doubtless, most of the farmers would build their barns on their farms rather than in the "barnyard district" and would find themselves constantly beset with the temptation to close their town houses, at least during the summer, and live on the farm, where houses, barns, outbuildings, etc., could be so arranged that the tremendous loss of time involved in needlessly going back and forth over long distances could be avoided. The elimination of stables, pig pens, etc., from the city would tend greatly toward more cheerful and sanitary surroundings. It could be accomplished only by higher cost through both waste in profitable garbage disposal, and in much greater inconvenience. If the city grew to large size and the people became city workers instead of farmers, this difficulty would tend to dwindle and the advantages of the arrangement to increase.

Community life as opposed to rural isolation was sought for by providing the farmer with a house in the city and a farm in the neighborhood. On the side of the Mormon plan are a number of advantages which possibly more than offset the additional inconvenience which such an arrangement certainly involves. The isolation of rural life with its educational and social limitations, has proven a very difficult problem in the past. If the farmer can live in the town or city and can give his children the advantages which the cities afford as the storehouses of civilization, his gains consist of better knowledge, higher culture, and a larger measure of the joys of association as opposed to the dreary loneliness of isolated life.

Can the farmer be a successful farmer and not live on his farm?

These, then, were in the main, the considerations which attracted these early Mormon planners and city builders. Little attention, indeed, was given to planning cities in those days, and these Mormon efforts may be regarded as marking a distinct advance along a line which has today become a very important matter in all large cities. Joseph Smith's mental penetration once more impresses us. Many problems which confront cities today were not considered in this plot of the "City of Zion." Some of these would have come up for consideration as the city grew and could have been handled satisfactorily without altering the original design. Others would have required alteration. One is struck forcibly by the extreme importance which is given to the religious atmosphere which surrounds everything. True, it was to be a "sacred city" and this fact must always be kept in mind. Temples, a Bishops' Storehouse, and schools are the only

public buildings specifically mentioned in the description.[1] A modern city dweller would wonder where the buildings for the civil government were to be, where the art galleries, the public libraries, the museums, the aquariums, the zoological gardens, the parks, the public baths, the playgrounds, etc., were to find a place. Clearly the central sections, devoted to public purposes, in the new mile square units, would have to be devoted to different uses than church buildings alone if Zion were to become a city of consequence in the modern sense.

Consideration of such present day problems of city planning should not blind us to a realization of the importance of many of the problems that were considered, at a time when cities grew up haphazardly without any design and a further appreciation of a design which served a very important practical purpose in helping to reclaim large areas of the nations waste lands in the arid West. This plan of building cities, *i.e.*, living in an organized town and farming the surrounding country with the town as a base, has been followed almost entirely by the Mormon people in their long history of successful colonization in the Western states. The method has made possible organized action as opposed to individual effort. The significance of this fact can hardly be ever-estimated. The Mormon pioneers encountered a long list of special difficulties which individual effort would not have been able to surmount. Let us enumerate some of them:

1. The winters were often severe and summer drouths common.
2. Water for irrigation was usually a long way off and an immense amount of effort was required to construct the canals along the hillsides of the canyons.
3. The crickets, the grasshoppers and the ground squirrels were numerous and at times threatened the entire crops.
4. There were no outside markets within a thousand or more miles for any surplus that might be produced. This was overcome in part by the discovery of gold in California and the heavy immigration which followed.
5. There was no currency in real money and barter had to be relied on in exchange until local script was devised.
6. There was little capital and scanty means with which to secure more.

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1 Orson Pratt says tabernacles and meetinghouses were also to be built. *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 24, p. 26, *et.seq.*

7. There was no past experience in irrigation to draw upon.
8. There were no railroads.
9. There were no government highways such as the Cumberland.
10. There were Indians, who were finding themselves displaced by the white man, and who were at times inclined to be hostile.
11. Timber for shelter was often far away and hard to get and coal for fuel had then been discovered in only limited quantities.
12. The problem that clothing and shoes presented was most difficult to handle. Bare feet predominated in summer and worn out shoes with rag or sack covering were very general in winter.

Organized effort surmounted these obstacles. Trouble with the Indians was minimized not alone by considerate treatment of the red men, but by the fact, which was obvious to the Indians, that these whites were strong enough to protect themselves. The United Order may have failed to establish itself as a system but the lessons in sharing alike which it taught, were most potent factors in making successful the war against a reluctant nature, which gave ground grudgingly and responded slowly, although surely to a strong unity of purpose.[1] When extreme need appeared those who had shared with those who had not. Shortage in capital was largely offset by the organized use of labor power. Religion was the basis of organization, but, by this time, the Mormon church was well organized and its machinery proved an effective means of using human energies of all kinds. Canals, roads, and railways were built. Sluggards found little room and scant solace in the ranks of these hardy men who were redeeming the desert with toil.[2] Behind every movement which made for the growth of

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1 D. D. Lum in *Social Problems of Today* (New York, 1886), p. 9, says concerning early Mormon colonization: "I am frank to say that I do not believe that this conquest could have wrested from nature by individual efforts, by settlers, isolated from each other without mutual aid or assistant; nor that this mutual aid, under such circumstances would have been extended but for the religious bond which knit the pioneers into a common brotherhood. The obstacles to be overcome were too great; nature presented too forbidding an aspect to permit of this great conquest having resulted from the unorganized and undirected efforts of isolated settlers. It was a warfare upon nature by drilled colorts, animated by a common feeling, and therefore, accomplished what a guerilla warfare would have been incapable of achieving. There was needed the unifying element of a deep moral conviction, nerving men's souls to withstand difficulties and welding individual interests together to form closer social ties."

2 The stern realities of the early days is preserved to readers by cryptic accounts here and there such as the following from James H. McKlintock in *The Mormon Settlements in Arizona* (Phoenix, 1921), p. 121: "There were the usual casualties of the desert country. In June James Davidson, wife and son died of thirst on the road from the Muddy settlements to St. George. Their journey delayed on the desert by the breaking of a wagon wheel."

the country, the church buttressed itself solidly.[1] The square blocked villages, with their wide streets, pushed their way from mountain foothills to lake fringe; from narrow valley end on the south, to snow-capped hills on the north; from valley to valley; and from state to state. Once planted they remained.[2] Unknowingly Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had planned for an empire.

1 *cf.*, D. D. Lum, *Social Problems of Today*.

2 There were some cases of abandonement where experience found the location to be undesirable, for example, the settlements on the Muddy (formerly Arizona, but later Nevada) were abandoned December, 1870.

CHAPTER X

DIFFICULTIES WITHIN

A certain amount of friction is inevitable in everything new. The tractor, the automobile, the airship operate with labored motion until such time as the various parts have become fitted to their proper spheres. Then, if the machine is well made, friction abates, and smoothness and precision take the place of the former waste of energy. Even so, new social and economic orders have certain inevitable difficulties to encounter.

B. H. Roberts, Assistant Church Historian, in his *History of the Mormon Church,*[1] points out that rivalry had developed between the two centers of the church at Kirtland, Ohio, and at Independence, Mo., due in part to what was regarded as a slighting of the older church membership from New York. These people had settled in Jackson County, but had been given scant recognition by way of appointment to office in the church. Kirtland converts, such as Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, Edward Partridge, Sidney Gilbert, Newel K. Whitney, Isaac Morley and others, were chosen for leadership, both in Kirtland and in Independence. Joseph Smith also made his home at or near Kirtland and this was a source of disappointment to the people of Independence. A further difficulty arose from the fact that the Mormon organization or system was only in process of formation at this time. Not only this, but many items of belief and of principle had not yet been enunciated. However, staunch in belief the membership as a whole might be, many would find their faith taxed through inability to assimilate the new features which were fast developing in the church.

In addition to such general difficulties, there were also others which had their basis in the changed economic conditions brought about by the establishment of the Order, and it is in these, particularly, that we are here interested.

During the first three days' journey down the Missouri, in August, 1831, after selecting the location of Zion and deciding upon a plan of operations, the members of the Western Mission quarrelled among themselves. The details of this disagreement have never been very clearly set forth, but it appears that Joseph Smith was irritable and some in the party thought that he was seeking for too much power.[2] Certain it is that today the position

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1 *Americana,* May, 1919, vol. 5, pp. 467-68.

2 Ezra Booth, an apostate, who was a member of the Western Mission, makes some charges against Joseph Smith in a series of nine letters, which are published in Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled.* For a brief account of the controversy see Roberts' *History of Mormonism, Americana,* vol. 5, p. 380; also Kennedy's *Early Days of Mormonism,* pp. 98-100. The letter of Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith, referred to later in this chapter, also makes reference to this difficulty.

of the president of the church is one of considerable power and responsibility. In those early days, when church membership was small, such powers probably appeared large to some and the church as a consequence top heavy. Filled to overflowing with dreams of the wonderful things that were to be accomplished, Joseph Smith likely had scant patience at this time with his co-workers, who, earthbound and guided not so much by the brightness of the vision arrangement of things. It is probable that some were nettled by as by the experience of the past, felt some scruples about the new the Bishop being required through the "revelation" of August, 1831 to "impart of the money which I have given him, a portion unto nine elders who are commanded to return; and he that is able, let him return it by way of the agent, and he that is not, of him it is not required."[1]

It is also likely that some of these men, while having become converted to the plan of the United Order, could see that if the consecration and the surplus were to be disposed of by revelation through Joseph Smith, no one would have any assurance as to what would become of his property. Joseph Smith would thus have "monarchial powers" as it was termed,[2] and such things as economic motives would be entirely absent. As our analysis of the United Order has already made evident, this was not to be the arrangement, for the proceeds of the general treasury were not to be used except "by the voice and common consent of the Order" and the proceeds of the sacred treasury only were to be subject to requisition by *commandment* or by common consent.[3] But this ruling, while evidently the intention in the early revelation which exhorted to do all things by common consent, was not definitely developed until 1834 and, since the August revelation did authorize Bishop Partridge to use funds to pay the expenses of some of the members of the Western Mission back to Kirtland, it is not surprising that some were disappointed, and it is easy to see why it was that, while the Missouri River difficulties were adjusted, the idea back of them continued to give trouble during the entire Independence period.

Somewhat of a feeling of discontent grew, both among the leaders and among the people at Independence, during the winter of 1831-32. By spring, April, 1832, it became necessary for Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Newel Whitney to make a second visit to Zion, this time to allay discord.[4] It is noteworthy that at this time as on many other occasions, Joseph Smith's pres-

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 60:10-11. Compare Ezra Booth's letter No. 7, published in Howe, *op.cit.*, pp. 201-08, for corroboration of this view.

2 See letter of Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith, published in *Times and Seasons*, vol 5, No. 22, p. 721, also compare Ezra Booth's letters Nos. 1, 5, published in Howe's *op.cit.*, pp. 178,195.

3 *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. 104.

4 *Ibid.*, sec. 78:8-12.

ence had an electrifying effect on his followers. Difficulties were forgotten and peace restored.[1] It was during this visit that the important addition of a Central Board was made to the United Order plan.

But with the return of the church leaders to Kirtland, the adjustment of differences proved to be a temporary one and dissatisfaction broke out in a more pronounced way. The establishment of a Central Board was a step forward in establishing a desirable all-around plan, but the real trouble at Independence was a feeling that the direction of the Order (their Order) had been too much with those who lived away from Independence, and this included Joseph Smith, who made his home at or near Kirtland. The arrangement placed power in the hands of five men, but three of these, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Newel Whitney lived at Kirtland.

True, the Order had been strengthened, but they thought at the wrong end. Some of the Independence leaders would not have been troubled so much by this arrangement, had not the great obstacles with which they were surrounded pressed with increasing weight upon them. Take the case of Sidney Gilbert. He was agent, in charge of the store, out of which he must make a living for himself and family. Later, since the publication of the Commandments was a slow process, this store was called upon to support the Literary Firm.[2] This meant furnishing supplies to the families of Martin Harris, W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer. The other two members of the Literary Firm, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, since they lived at Kirtland, probably received their support, at this time, through the store at Kirtland. To increase his burdens further the poor in large numbers crowded in, and wanted book credit.[3] Where and how was he to get money with which to "replenish his store"? He decided to stop issuing credit, for he was business man enough to know that, as things were going, ruin was imminent. So discouraged did he become that he became somewhat ugly in attitude. Farther removed from the trying situation, and less informed on the essentials of business practice, Joseph Smith felt the import of the ugly words, but did not appreciate so much the necessity of a remedy for the situation. At any rate he upholds the cause of the poor and requires that credit be extended to them. Optimistically inclined, he felt that present difficulties could be overcome by the United Firm negotiating loans. Later, under im-

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1 Concerning his reception, Joseph Smith says: "We found the brethren in Zion generally enjoying health and faith; and they were extremely glad to welcome us among them."—Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 215.

2 See letter of the Presidency to the Brethren in Zion, June 25, 1833, published in Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 363-66.

3 See letter of Joseph Smith to Sidney Gilbert, dated March 21, 1833, *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, No. 24, p. 754.

proved conditions, the members could pay their debts to the store and all would be well. To Sidney Gilbert things seemed, during the summer and fall of 1832, to be going from bad to worse, and the remedy was to call a halt by selling for cash only—a noxious medicine for those who have nothing, but possessing withal good healing power. Joseph Smith's generous attitude towards the poor calls for admiration, but the business policy which resulted was such as to bring the church into grave financial trouble a little later on at Kirtland.[1]

Letters breathing an antagonistic spirit were sent by Sidney Gilbert, John Corrill, W. W. Phelps and others during the fall and winter of 1832-33. Even kindly, patient Bishop Partridge found himself taxed to maintain peaceable relations. This steady-minded, just man must have been a tower of strength to the church at this time. So pronounced was the tone of these letters and so out of harmony with the effort to build a new Jerusalem, that the church leaders of Kirtland became thoroughly aroused. A special conference of twelve High Priests assembled on January 14, 1833 and appointed Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith to formulate a letter of rebuke and admonition.[2] The following extracts from this letter indicate the gravity of the situation:

> Let the Bishop read this to the elders, that they may warn the members of the scourge what is coming, except they repent. Tell them to read the *Book of Mormon* and obey it; read the commandments that are printed, and obey them; yea, humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, that preadventure He may turn away His anger from you. Tell them that they have not come up to Zion to sit down in idleness, neglecting the things of God, but that they are to be diligent and faithful in obeying the new covenant. . . .
>
> Brother Phelp's letter is also received of December 15, and carefully read, and it betrays a lightness of spirit that ill becomes a man so placed in the important and responsible station that he is placed in. If you have fat beef and potatoes, eat them in singleness of heart, and boast not yourselves in these things. Think not, brethren, that we make a man an offender for a word; this is not the case; but we want to see a spirit in Zion, by which the Lord will build it up; that is the plain, solemn and pure spirit of Christ. Brother Phelps requested in his last letter that Brother Joseph should come to Zion; but we say that Brother Joseph will not settle in Zion until she repent and purify herself, and abide by the new covenant, and remember the commandments that have been given her, to do them as well as say them. . . .
>
> At the time Joseph, Sidney and Newel left Zion, all matters of hardness and misundersanding were settled and buried (as they supposed) and you gave them the hand of fellowship; but, afterwards, you brought up all these things again, in a censorious spirit, accusing Brother Joseph in a rather indirect way of seeking after monarchial power and authority. This came to us in Brother Corrill's letter of June 2nd. . . .

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1 D. L. Leonard, "The Mormon Sojourn in Ohio"—*Ohio Church History Society Papers,* vol. 1, p. 57. Also John Corrill's *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints,* pp. 26-27.

2 Published in *Times and Seasons,* vol. 5, No. 22, p. 751.

Brother Gilbert's letter of December 10th, has been received and read attentively, and the low, dark and blind insinuations which were in it were not received by us as from the fountain of light, though his claims and pretentions of holiness were great. We are not unwilling to be chastened or rebuked for our faults, but we want to receive it in language that we can understand, as Nathan said to David, "Thou art the man." We are aware that Brother Gilbert is doing much, and a multitude of business on hand; but let him purge out all the old leven, and do his business in the the Spirit of the Lord, and then the Lord will bless him, otherwise the frown of the Lord will remain upon him. There is manifestly an uneasiness in Brother Gilbert, and a fearfulness that the Lord will not provide for His saints in these last days, and these fears lead him on to coveteousness. This ought not so to be; but let him do just as the Lord has commanded him, and then the Lord will open His coffers, and his wants will be liberally supplied. But if this uneasy, coveteous disposition be cherished by him, the Lord will bring him poverty, shame and disgrace.

Joseph Smith, in a letter to W. W. Phelps, under date of January 11, 1833, also sharply reprimands:

For if Zion will not purify herself, so as to be approved of in all things, in His sight, He will seek another people; for His work will go on until Israel is gathered, and they who will not hear His voice, must expect to feel His wrath. . . . Our hearts are greatly grieved at the spirit which is breathed, both in your letter and in that of Brother Gilbert's, the very spirit of which is wasting the strength of Zion like a pestilence; and if it is not detected and driven from you, will ripen Zion for the threatened judgements of God.[1]

A little later on, March 21, 1833, in answer to a letter from Sidney Gilbert, Joseph Smith writes in a more kindly tone as follows:[2]

And now I say to Brother Gilbert, that I do not write this by way of chastisement, but to show him the absolute necessity of having all his communications written plain, and understandingly. We are well aware of the great care upon his mind, in consequence of much business; but he must put his trust in God and he may rest assured that he has our prayers day and night, that he may have strength to overcome every difficulty. We have learned of the Lord that it is his duty to assist all the poor brethren that are pure in heart, and that he has done wrong in withholding credit from them, as they must have assistance; and the Lord established him in Zion for that express purpose. . . .

We rejoice to hear that the Seminary lands are reduced in price, and are coming into the market; and be assured that we shall use our influence to send brethren to Zion who are able to help you in the purchase of lands.

Along with the letter from the twelve High Priests and the one to W. W. Phelps from Joseph Smith, a "revelation" called "The Olive Leaf" was also sent to Independence. This revelation constitutes a very important contribution to Mormon literature and is further evidence of the breadth of conception so common

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1 Published in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. 1, p. 316.
2 Published in *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, No. 24, p. 754.

to Joseph Smith.[1] On receipt of these papers at Independence, an assembly, called a solemn assembly, met on February 26, 1833, and a sincere spirit of repentance, it is said, was manifested among the leaders. Perhaps due to chagrin, some of the above mentioned papers were withheld for a time from Bishop Partridge by those leaders to whom they had been immediately addressed. But the small misunderstanding involved here was soon overcome.

A letter was dispatched to Kirtland which was satisfactory to the church leaders there and gave general satisfaction.[2] On March 26, 1833, a council of High Priests, twenty-one in number, convened at Independence for the purpose of furthering the "general welfare of the church." At this meeting it was decided to recognize as the leaders of the church in Zion the seven men—Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Sidney Gilbert, Bishop Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley and John Corrill—who had been sent from Kirtland to "build up Zion." Traveling elders who were working in any of the branches in Zion should be subject to these men. It appears that traveling elders, not clearly understanding their duties, had attempted to regulate and set in order the rapidly growing branches in Zion, and had caused much confusion thereby.[3] On April 6, 1833, some eighty people, mainly church officials, met at the Ferry on the Big Blue River and held the first celebration in honor of the founding of the church. Services were held, instructions given, and a very agreeable day spent.[4] These events serve to suggest that following the February meeting and continuing until the trouble from without impended in July, there was a mellowed, chastened and harmonious atmosphere about Independence.

There has been, in the opinion of the present writer, a disposition to make more out of these internal differences than the conditions justify. A great deal was expected of those who were attempting to "establish Zion" and small backslidings were viewed with grave concern. It should be remembered that no difficulty approached a proportion sufficient to hinder operations. Everything that was being attempted was prosecuted with vigor. There were no strikes, lockouts or refusals to obey authority. Most of the ill will, such as it was, that was engendered, can be accounted for as a result of the labored, halting, ill-fitting movement of the various parts of a new economic system which was encountering

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1 Parts of the Olive Leaf revelation will come, in due time, to be recognized as a genuine contribution to sacred writings. In extent of conception, in sweep of thought, in moving power, it has about it the swing of the centuries, and belongs to that class of literature which rises above locality and pays allegiance to neither place nor time.

2 Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 327, also pp. 335-36.

3 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, No. 23, p. 738.

4 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, No. 24, p. 752.

the worst kind of conditions. Sidney Gilbert's letters appear to have been the most caustic, and yet, as we have elsewhere seen in this volume, this man was one of the ablest of the period, sound in judgment, conservative in action and not lacking in true allegiance to his beliefs. His correspondence with Governor Dunklin reveals him to be a man of sound Americanism and one of whom Mormonism may well be proud. The kind of difficulties he stirred up were mainly the kind that make for progress. And so indeed, were most of these difficulties. They were in the main simply the groanings of a new economic order whose birth pangs must needs be unduly severe, due to the lack of capital and the congregating together of the poor. It is a matter for surprise, not that there was ill-will, but that there was so little of it under the conditions which existed. Loyalty was in no sense lacking, as was shortly to be abundantly proved, and industry was manifested on every hand. Indeed, in spite of almost insurmountable obstacles, the plan gave fair promise of ultimate success at the time of the exodus in 1833. Such a prospect had become possible only as a result of a relatively high quality of spirit, coupled with unusual industry.

PART II—RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS[1]

CHAPTER XI

THE OLD CITIZENS' VIEWPOINT—CHARGES, EXAMINATION OF CHARGES

There were a number of public questions that attracted considerable attention in Missouri, as well as in other nearby states, during the early thirties. One of these was the Indian question. Immediately on the west and south was the Indian territory, into which various tribes were gradually being moved by the national and state governments. It was a place where naturally there was dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians. In 1832, Black Hawk and Keokuk, leading the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes, were at war in Illinois, and it was expected that they would cross into Missouri, where considerable preparation was made to meet them.[2]

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1 The exodus of the Mormons from Jackson County in 1833-34, has been covered by a number of writers and it appears that the available material has been pretty well brought to the surface. What has not been attempted, however, so far as the present writer is aware, is to incorporate in one volume, the real point of view, which actuated both the Mormons and the Old Citizens in the controversy which finally assumed the lamentable proportions involved in the driving out of the Mormons. It is only by an approach to the question from this angle that the newer generations, in Missouri and in Utah alike, can brush aside a heritage of misunderstanding and can promote, with more kindly feelings, better relations in time to come. For let it be emphasized, it is a poor argument that does not have two sides and it is a commonplace of experience in labor disputes and in wars as well as in the ordinary differences of peaceable life that each side thinks it is right. When radical differences in viewpoint bring severe ruptures it is only at a later time, after the heat of the conflict has passed, and after ugly wounds have healed, that a calmer view can add the missing considerations, which both sides have failed to take into account and which are necessary to that full understanding which harmony and right human relationships require.

2 Birdsall and Dean in *The History of Davies County, Mo.*, p. 47, give the following account of these preparations:

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN MISSOURI

"On the 14th day of May, 1832, a bloody engagement took place between the regular forces of the United States and a part of the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes Indians, commanded by Black Hawk and Keokuk, near Dixon's Ferry in Illinois.

"The Governor (John Miller) of Missouri, fearing these savages would invade the soil of his state, ordered Major General Richard Gentry to raise one thousand volunteers for the defense of the frontier. Five companies were at once raised in Boone County, and in Callaway, Montgomery, St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike, Marion, Ralls, Clay, and Monroe other companies were raised.

"Two of these companies, commanded respectively by Captain John Jaimison, of Callaway, and Captain David M. Hickman, of Boone County, were mustered into service in July for thirty days,and put under command of Major Thomas W. Conyers.

"This detachment, accompanied by General Gentry, arrived at Fort Pike on the 15th of July, 1832. Finding that the Indians had not crossed the Mississippi into Missouri, General Gentry returned to Columbia, leaving the fort in charge of Major Conyers. Thirty days having expired, the command under Major Conyers was relieved by two other companies under Captain Sinclair Kirtley, of Boone, and Patrick Ewing of Callaway. This detachment was marched to Fort Pike by Col. Austin A. King, who conducted the two companies to Major Conyers' home. Major Conyers was left in charge of the fort, where he remained till September following, at which time the Indian troubles, so far as Missouri was concerned, having all subsided, the frontier forces were mustered out of service.

"Black Hawk continued the war in Iowa and Illinois, and was finally defeated and captured in 1833."

The Mormons unfortunately, from the standpoint of a good first impression on their neighbors, began work in Missouri through the Lamanite Mission. Efforts to present the *Book of Mormon* to the Indians and to convert them to Mormonism were vigorously made. True, other religious bodies had missionaries among the Indians, but these men and their religions were known and no one feared that Indian difficulties would arise through their efforts. But Mormonism was new and unknown. Frontiersmen were not unacquainted with the bad results which had sometimes followed the establishment of connections between enemy whites and neighboring red men. The French and Indian War, the Revolution, and the War of 1812 had furnished many examples. The intense interest of the Delewares in the *Book of Mormon* excited the enmity of other Christian missionaries and the suspicions of the Indian agent, who ordered the Mormons out of the Indian territory.[1]

Another question that continued to assume, year by year, a deeper significance was slavery. It is true that a few years earlier, in 1820, Missouri had been admitted into the Union as a slave state and the Missouri Compromise had been adopted with the hope that it would settle the slave question. But, instead of settling it, this compromise merely perpetuated and strengthened antagonisms. According to this compromise the boundary between slave and free territory to the west of Missouri was to be the 36.°30′ parallel or the southern boundary of that state, extended westward. It is evident that the center of the opposing slavery forces which were seeking for new strength, in added territory and in increased representation in the Federal Government at Washington,, was very close to western Missouri. Each side was already sending settlers to unoccupied territory in the effort to make it slave or free. Missouri itself had been the scene of a most spirited struggle. Is it any wonder that the old settlers, living in a slave state, looked with suspicion upon these northern non-slave-owning people?[2]

But let us get down to particulars. The document sometimes called the Secret Constitution and the Address to the Public, both

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1 Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography*, p. 56.

2 Alphonso Wetmore's account in his *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, 1837, pp. 92-99, while somewhat colored, gives several reasons for the expulsion of the Mormons. He says: "The disgusting folly and outrageous villanies of the Mormons, who had swarmed into the County of Jackson, induced the old settlers to rise in arms and expell them. The measure, although a strong and a violent one, was fully justified and indispensible, in consequence of the inpertinent and mischievous interference of the Mormons with the slaves of the country. Their threatened association with the neighboring tribes of Indians was a serious subject of alarm; and no longer considered doubtful in point of fact, when the Mormon population were found with arms pointed against their neighbors. The operation of fantastic zeal upon the human mind will account for the seeming improbability and the audacity of the outrages contemplated, and those actually perpetrated by this people. This tribe of locusts, that still threaten to scorch and wither the herbage of a goodly portion of Missouri by the swarm of emigrants from their parental hives in Ohio and New York, must here be allowed the enviable distinction of having their follies and mad achievements recorded."

of which are printed in full in the notes at the close of chapter XIV, contain an account of the grievances of the Jackson citizens which may be summarized as follows:[1]

1. They consider the Mormon pretentions to receiving direct revelation, and inspiration, speaking in unknown tongues, healing the sick, etc., as open blasphemy, "casting contempt on His [God's] holy religion."
2. The Mormon emigration was held to be of increasingly low character, not much above the slaves in education or property,—lazy, idle, vicious, and poor.
3. The Mormons are charged with tampering with slaves and the *Star* to have invited "free people of color" to settle in the county.
4. The Mormons are said to daily proclaim that the Gentiles are to be "cut off" and that they (the Mormons) are to have their lands, many apparently having been taught that these lands "were to be won from us by the sword."
5. The Mormons, they affirm, send out many missionaries who make large numbers of converts in New York, Ohio, and Illinois, among the ignorant, the superstitious, and the poor, and then send them to this country.
6. Under these conditions, the civil government, it is held, would soon be in the Mormon's hands and with the sheriff, the justices, and the county judges composed of men who believe in miracles, in revelation, and in divination and "fired with the prospect of obtaining inheritances without money and without price . . . . our position would be insupportable."

Examination of Grievances

The first of these charges, namely a belief in revelation, inspiration, the speaking in tongues, the healing of the sick, etc., the Mormons would plead guilty to in a full degree, though the speaking in unknown tongues is not particularly encouraged in the church.

This charge as a basis for the removal of the Mormons would hardly be worthy of passing comment except for the influence it actually had in increasing the spirit of opposition among the

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1 For a discussion of most of the charges enumerated here from a Mormon standpoint see B. H. Roberts' Introduction to Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, Period I. Also P. P. Pratt's *Late Persecutions* (New York, 1840.) pp. 26-29.

Jackson County citizens. Mormonism was then new. It purported to be the restoration of a live church which had once existed among men but had gradually died out, leaving a "form of godliness but denying the power thereof." Naturally intense religious opposition was aroused. The nineteenth century had prided itself on its tolerance of religious worship and in the main with good reasons, particularly when comparisons are made with earlier centuries. But religious prejudice was by no means dead at that time. It is still a tremendous force. Mormonism, because of its nature, its claims, its message, has called into being an amount of opposition which few churches have ever met. Naturally, the Jackson County citizens were imbued with it and in enumerating it as one of their grievances but gave expression to the general feeling among them. It may be remarked that it has always been difficult for average, common-sense men to believe in revelation and prophecy. No prophet ever had a very great following in his own day. As he became farther removed in time his followers increased in numbers. Nineteenth century frontier Americans could believe in ancient prophets but didn't care to have any too close around. Any present-day profession of that kind could not be anything but a fraud and an imposition. Hence the deluded Mormons.

That such beliefs would incapacitate those holding them for the dealing out of even-handed justice as sheriffs, justices of the peace and county judges, was, however, an assumption which later experience has not justified. The thousands of able and efficient officers of every description who have risen in Utah from among those holding these beliefs constitutes a sufficient answer to this accusation. In fact, it has been amply proved that a good Mormon is likely to be an efficient civil officer, just in the same way, that a good Presbyterian may be expected to be conscientious and upright in the performance of civil duties that may be placed in his care.

The second charge, that the Mormons were of increasingly low character, little above the slaves in education and property, lazy, idle and vicious, constitutes a serious indictment if true. With respect to education and property there can be little doubt that the characterization was in the main fairly accurate. The Mormons were poor, and the later immigrants more particularly so. This fact becomes evident enough as one reads the "Addresses of the Elders in Zion,"[1] published in the *Evening and Morning Star*. Probably for this reason their education, considered as a body, was not of a very high order, though there is evidence, at this early date, of that strong desire for learning which has become so pronounced a characteristic of the Mormon

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1 *Evening and Morning Star*, July, 1832, and July, 1833.

people.[1] That there was idleness in "Zion" and that it was of sufficient consequence to be a matter of complaint seems to be corroborated by Mormon evidence. Such, for instance, is found in the letter of Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith "to the Bishop, his Counsel, and the Inhabitants of Zion," of January 14, 1833,[2] wherein this admonition is given: "Tell them that they have not come up to Zion to sit down in idleness." It must be remembered, however, that the United Order arrangement of stewardships would have a tendency to make the many who were newly arriving feel somewhat at a loss to know just what to do until after a stewardship had been agreed upon with the bishop and definitely assigned. No doubt some delay would be necessary. In the meantime the newcomer would be idle. It is probable that a good deal of the idleness complained of was due to this situation. The weight of evidence, as found in the writings of Mormons, and non-Mormons alike, directly contradicts a general state of idleness. On the contrary, unusual industry marked the life of the Jackson County Mormons viewed as a whole. J. H. Hunt, of strong anti-Mormon sentiments, says for instance. "the prophet concentrated his followers; erected houses as if by magic—improvements were prosecuted with vigor and with such rapidity as to promise a flourishing town and country in a very short time." Many such statements may be found in non-Mormon writings.[3]

As for being vicious, no doubt some of the Mormons were. Every group of human beings finds some such among their numbers. The real question is, was the proportion who were of vicious, lawless bent, greater among the Mormons than among other average communities of the time? Mormon writers, while agreeing that these early Mormons were poor and of little education, not only emphatically deny the charge of laziness and viciousness, but affirm that they were unusually law-abiding and of a type which for nobility of character and willingness to make sacrifice for convictions have few equals in history.

There is much good evidence in favor of the Mormon writer's claims during the Jackson County period of Mormon history.[4]

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1 See first issue of *Evening and Morning Star*, June, 1832, Vol. 1, pp. 7, 8.

2 *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. 1, by Joseph Smith, pp. 317-21.

3 *cf.*, Birdsall and Dean, *History of Devies County, Mo.*, (Kansas City, 1882) p. 88; also Tucker's *Origin and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, 1867), pp. 152-53, and 160; also Ruth and R. W. Kauffman, *The Latter Day Saints—A Study of the Mormons in the Light of Economic Conditions* (London, 1912), pp. 40-41; also Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, p. 130

4 Governor Lucas of Ohio in a letter to President Martin Van Buren, published in Joseph and Heman Smith *Church History* (Reorganized) vol 2, pp. 95-97, says: "I think it due to that people to say, that they had for a number of years a community established in Ohio, and that while in that state they were (as far as I ever heard) believed to be an industrious, inoffensive people; and I have no recollection of having ever heard of any of them being charged in that state as violators of the law." See also Henry Caswell's *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 143.

In the later period after the Mormons began to be driven out and thus robbed of their possessions, they no doubt retaliated and many instances of robbing, wherein innocent parties suffered, could be, and have been, related by both sides. It is with the period before this happened that we are concerned here. John Corrill, for instance, after his apostacy from the Mormon church and after appearing as a witness against the church leaders at some of their trials, says:

> During all these difficulties the Mormons were accused of many crimes. This, of course, was necessary for an excuse; but the people of Jackson well knew, that up to that time, the Mormons had not been guilty of crime, nor done anything whereby they could criminate them by law; and, in my opinion, the stories originated in hatred toward the Mormon religion and the fear entertained of their overruning and ruling the county.[1]

It is also a noteworthy fact that though the Mormons lived in Independence more than two years, and though the county seat was located there and all of the county officers were non-Mormon, the records show that not a single Mormon was indicted during this whole time for any crime whatsoever.[2] Surely this is a remarkable record and is of itself a sufficient answer to this charge. Further, when one investigates the later history of the Mormon communities out West, where under conditions of peace, unmolested by outside interference, it was hardly necessary to have peace officers at all, and where industry became so characteristic a trait,[3] one is forced to the conclusion that the Mormons, considered as a whole, are, and were, both an industrious and a law-abiding people.

The third charge, *i.e.*, tampering with slaves and indirectly inviting free people of color into the state, if true, would have been a very sore trial to the Old Citizens. Here, again, however, the evidence appears to be against the charge. There were less than a dozen free negroes or mulattoes in the whole church at this time[4] and not very much work has ever been done among the negro race by the Mormon Elders. A careful perusal of the issues of the *Evening and Morning Star* reveals a very scrupulous desire to leave the slave issue alone. It is to be remembered that this paper was the only church publication in existence. Its subscribers were located in free territory as well as in Missouri. Notwithstanding this it is remarkably silent on slavery issues. The article on "Free People of Color," published in the July, 1833, issue of

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1 Corrill's *op.cit.*, p. 20.

2 Henry Caswell's *op.cit.*, p. 143.

3 See Dyer D. Lum, *Social Problems of Today or The Mormon Question in its Economic Aspects*, pp. 9, 12.

4 Parley P. Pratt, in his *History of the Persecutions of the Saints*, p. 26, says: "In fact one dozen free negroes or mulattoes never belonged to our society in any part of the world, from its first organization to this day (1839)."

the Star, to which the Old Citizens took so much exception, was intended to inform elders and members in different branches of the church what the laws of Missouri were on the question of free people of color, thinking that such information would be a sufficient deterrent to any free negro member who might want to come to Missouri. To the uneasy slave owners who could not but be suspicious of these Northern non-slave-owning people, however, the publication of this information meant only one thing, that the Mormons were preparing the way for their free colored brethren to settle among them to corrupt their blacks. On seeing the interpretation that was being placed upon the article, an extra was immediately issued explaining intentions, but having once arrived at their conclusions, the Old Settlers preferred to retain them. It is probably true that some of the church members unwisely expressed their views on the slave question; it is well within the possible that the case of interfering with slaves, of which earlier complaint was made, actually happened; but, the leaders of the church promised to deal with any who should offend in the future and there is no evidence of anything further of this kind. The next difficulty, in the charge, is the article in the July *Star,* above referred to. The whole of the slavely evidence against the Mormons during the two years, then, is this early and apparently not very well substantiated case of interfering with the slaves, and the article in the *Star.* The first, whatever it was, appears to have been checked. The latter, the publication of a slave state's laws on slavery—could be objected to only by a people in a very high state of suspicion. The facts are the Mormon were doing all they could to keep out of the slavery question. But it is to be remembered that they were from the North and they owned no slaves—evidence enough to the old settlers that they were opposed to slavery and, therefore, its enemies.

The fourth grievance—daily proclamations by the Mormons that the "Gentiles were to be cut off," and that the Mormons were to have their lands, many apparently having been taught that "they were to be won from us by the sword"—brings us to a charge of substantial strength. It must be admitted by the Mormons that many of the elders, chosen as they are from every walk of life and often possessing little training, have been most unwise in their manner of approach to strangers and have often needlessly antagonized.[1] Many of them have not fully understood their own message. Then, too, the language of Joseph Smith was not always definite and different interpretations could easily be placed on

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1A good example of an effort to curb unwise elders is found in a "Letter to the Elders in Kirtland and the Brethren Abroad," published in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. 1, pp. 467-69. The charge of arrogance is frequently made against the Mormons by non-Mormon writers. See Mackay, *The Mormons,* pp. 66, 72-4. Also H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah,* pp. 97-98.

some of his words.[1] A case in point, is that found in connection with the purchase of lands in Zion. The passage follows:

> Wherefore the land of Zion shall not be obtained but by purchase or by blood, otherwise there is none inheritance for you. And if by purchase behold ye are blessed; and if by blood, as ye are forbidden to shed blood, lo, your enemies are upon you, and ye shall be scourged from city to city. and from synagogue to synagogue, and but few shall stand to receive an inheritance.[2]

The mention of purchase by blood had an immediate and an unfortunate effect. To those already unfriendly and suspicious, it meant the use of force or "obtaining inheritances without money and without price" as the Old Citizens put it. But an entirely different meaning has been placed upon it by the Mormon Church which may be explained thus: This "revelation" was given for the purpose of stimulating the people to exert every effort towards buying out the lands of the Old Citizens. If they did not do so it is promised difficulties would arise and the land would be "purchased by blood," not the blood of their enemies for they (the Mormons) were "forbidden to shed blood," but by the spilling of their own blood as they were driven "from city to city and from synagogue to synagogue." In the end, finally, when Zion should be built, the total of the purchase price, would include not only the money involved in buying the lands, but the blood of those who had become martyrs in the effort. In other words, if the saints did not hurry up and buy up Jackson County, their blood would become a part of the purchase price. Interpreted in this way the passage is illuminating and no objection can be taken to it. It has always been so understood by the church leaders. Time and again, they gave assurance that they intended to obtain their lands by purchase and in no other way and no instance is to be found where any effort was made to obtain property in any other manner. It is possible that individual elders have understood it differently and it is certain that the Old Citizens were very suspicious of it. But here again it is a lack of genuine understanding which is at the root of the difficulty.

Grievance number five—the Mormon system of sending into New York, Ohio, and Illinois (northern states), large numbers of missionaries who make many converts among the superstitious, the ignorant, and the poor, and send them to this county—raises considerations which at first reading may appear to be of

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[1] Joseph Smith appreciated fully his language difficulties. At one time in a letter to W. W. Phelps he said, "Oh Lord God, deliver us in due time from the little narrow prison, almost as it were, total darkness of paper, pen and ink; . . . . and a crooked, broken, scattered and imperfect language." Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 299; and again in his diary, "O may God give me learning, even language, and endue me with qualifications to magnify His name while I live." *Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 548.

[2] *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 43:29-31.

minor importance but which on closer study, are found to be most vital. What though the Mormons were law-abiding, and purchased their lands at market value, and left slavery unmolested, and worked industriously, and sought after sound knowledge, it still remained a fact that the nature of their whole program, as it was being carried out, was such that the Old Settlers could not agree to it. The Mormons had selected Independence as their place of gathering. They pressed into Jackson County in large numbers, many of them too poor to buy improved land, and with enough to buy only a small amount of government land even though it sold at from $1.25 to $2.00 per acre. They were Northern non-slave owners. They looked on life through a religious angle. Their customs, their habits, their projects, public and private, were very foreign to the Southern slave owners' The type of life, most of the things the Old Settlers held dear, was about to be submerged by this veritable invasion of what, in almost every sense, was a foreign people. In a larger sense, it was a question of your home against my home, your institutions against my institutions. The Old Settlers were there first. They had reclaimed the land. Were they to be forced to either sell their homes or live under conditions determined by a majority whose "ways were not their ways?" With increasing dissatisfaction they offered more than once to sell out and leave[1] but the Mormons, alas, were too poor to buy. What was to be done? Sit supinely by, and in the course of another year find themselves in a minority and, therefore, according to American political principles, at the mercy of the incoming majority? Not we of frontier Missouri. said the Old Citizens. We'll remove them while we still have the power.

The sixth and last mentioned grievance—the prospective loss of political power in the county—was of no small consequence to these people. For a generation the southerners had fought, might and main, to achieve and retain control over the federal government. They were accustomed to political domination and were fully alive to the advantages and the importance of it. Should they submit to a program which would inevitably relegate them to the background and bring to the fore, problems and projects in which they had no interest, and which would gradually come to dominate local public affairs?

Again the answer was no.[2]

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1 See John Corrill's *op.cit.*, p. 19.

2 Independence itself was but a very small town when the Mormons began to settle there. The apostate Mormon, Ezra Booth, thus describes it: "It is a new town, containing a courthouse built of brick, two are three merchant stores, and fifteen or twenty dwelling houses, built mostly of logs hewed on both sides; and is situated on a lonesome rise of ground, about three miles south of the Missouri River, and about 12 miles east of the dividing line between the United States and the Indian Reserve, and is the county seat of Jackson County." From Letter No. 6, published in Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 196.

Jackson County itself, in 1830, just before the Mormons began to settle there, had a population of 2823. These people were mainly from the south. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, pp. 161-62.

CHAPTER XII

THE STORY TOLD BY THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Many Mormon writers have held that the old citizens of Jackson County were not only grossly ignorant themselves, but were bloodthirsty and lawless, with little respect for law or order, being in part at least dregs of Southern society, sent west to perpetuate slavery in new territory. As for the charge of ignorance, it is, perhaps, a legitimate assumption that there was not much to choose from as between the Old Settlers and the Mormons.[1] Both were subject to pioneer conditions and the masses could not well have had much education. It is certain that there were many who were very ignorant in both camps.[2] But the story that is revealed by the sequence of events indicates clearly that, while the Old Citizens had fully determined to use whatever force was necessary in order to remove the Mormons, they did not desire to inflict any further injury than was necessary to bring this about. Let us follow the order of events. Following a preliminary meeting in April at which little was accomplished, there gathered a large body of Old Citizens at Independence, about July 15, 1833. The Mormons were informed that they must leave the county, but no violence of consequence was manifested. On July 20th, the Old Settlers returned, in larger numbers, and renewed the demand. The Mormons refused. The next step taken was to destroy the *Star* printing press. Bishop Partridge and Charles Allan were also tarred and feathered upon the public square. The crowd then disbanded. On the 23rd of July they came again in still larger numbers and thus made it evident that they meant business. The Mormon leaders now agreed to leave, themselves, and to use their influence to get the rest to leave. The agreement was signed and was acceptable to the Old Citizens who disbanded. There was no further violence until the Mormons, on the advice of the Church leaders in Kirtland, decided that the agreement was made under duress and was binding only on those who had signed it, and, on the advice of Governor Dunklin, sought the assistance of the civil law to protect their persons and property. Following this the Mormons were removed from the county by force of arms. Much suffering naturally resulted and in cases inflamed mobs went

1 Linn (an anti-Mormon writer) in *The Story of the Mormons*, pp. 161-62, describes the backward conditions which maintained among the old settlers. See also P. P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, pp. 70-71, 78.

2 Andrew Jenson and Edward Stevenson relate in a pamphlet on the *Infancy of the Church*, pp. 2-4, an account of a visit in 1888 to the home of a Mr. Mason who was one of the Jackson County mob. Said Mr. Mason, concerning himself: "I can't read a word, I only went to school three weeks in my life, during which time I got nine lickings and quit."

to extremes.[1] The winter wore on and the Mormons sought state aid in order to become reinstated. The governor was willing to reinstate them but thought it was beyond his power to maintain a military force to protect them. He suggested that they organize themselves into a guard in order to protect themselves. Realizing that they were not strong enough to return as things stood, Zion's Camp was formed by the branches of the church in the east. The men of this camp came to Missouri to make their homes and to give the Mormons in Missouri sufficient strength so that they could protect themselves, after the governor reinstated them. It was not until the Mormons sent word to the governor concerning these reinforcements that, in desperation, it would seem, the Jackson citizens burned the Mormon homes, during the period between April 24 and May 7, 1834.

But, it is objected, all of these high-handed proceedings of the Old Citizens were lawless. That must be admitted and was admitted by the Old Citizens themselves in their "Address to the Public" which is printed at the close of Chapter XIV of this volume. What is contended here is, that having decided for reasons they deemed sufficient to go beyond the law and expel the Mormons, they apparently made a decided effort to do so with as little violence as possible, constituting themselves ready, nevertheless, to go as far as was necessary in order to accomplish their purpose. Bishop Edward Partridge's own statement concerning his "tarring and feathering" seems to bear out the conclusion I have here reached and I shall close this part of our inquiry with his account:[2]

> Before tarring and feathering me, I was permitted to speak. I told them that the saints had been made to suffer persecution in all ages of the world, that I had done nothing which ought to offend anyone. That if they abused me, they would abuse an innocent person. That I was willing to suffer for the sake of Christ; but, to leave the country, I was not then willing to consent to it. By this time the multitude made so much noise that I could not be heard; some were cursing and swearing, saying, call upon your Jesus; others were equally noisy in trying to still the rest, that they might be enabled to hear what I was saying.
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> Until after I had spoken, I knew not what they intended to do with me, whether to kill me, to whip me, or what else I knew not. I bore my abuse with so much resignation and meekness, that it appeared to astound the multitude, who permitted me to retire in silence, many looking very solemn, their sympathies having been touched as I thought and, as to myself, I was so filled with the Spirit and love of God, that I had no hatred towards my persecutors, or anyone else.

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1 Particularly were the old settlers hard on any who attempted to return for any cause whatsoever. For example, see Joseph and Heman Smith *Church History*, (Reorganized), vol. 2, pp. 52-53. For further account of Mormon sufferings see P. P. Pratt's *Late Persecutions*, pp. 31-35.

2 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, p. 839.

Such occurrences as the foregoing were probably responsible for the favorable sentiment toward the Mormons, which existed among state officials and people generally in Missouri outside of Jackson County, during this period. See Mackay, *The Mormons*, p. 73.

CHAPTER XIII

WERE THE JACKSON COUNTY CITIZENS WILLING TO PAY THE MORMONS FOR THEIR LANDS?

It is clear from the first written understanding among the Jackson County citizens—The Secret Constitution—that it was their intention to pay the Mormons something for their property. Say they, in this document: "We, therefore, agree that after timely warning and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us . . . . we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them." This intention does not seem to have been destroyed by the burning of the homes in the spring of 1834. A direct offer was not made, however, until the arrival of the armed Mormon Camp. At this time the Mormons were fairly well prepared to defend their property. The governor also was practically bound by his previous utterances to reinstate them. Under these conditions the Jackson County citizens found themselves in a difficult position for they had clearly defied law. In no sense, however, were they ready to recede from the position they had taken. Prominent men from other counties, such as Judge J. F. Ryland and others, anxious that the state might be spared the ignominy of the armed conflict which threatened, sought a compromise. Under these conditions the Old Citizens went the length of making the following offer which was presented by a committee at a public meeting held in the courthouse at Liberty, June 16, 1834:

Propositions of the People of Jackson County to the Mormons

We, the undersigned committee, being fully authorized by the people of Jackson County, hereby propose to the Mormons, that they will buy all the land that the said Mormons own in the County of Jackson; and also all the improvements which the said Mormons had on any of the public lands in said County of Jackson, as they existed before the first disturbance between the people of Jackson and the Mormons, and for such as they have made since. They further propose that the valuation of said lands and improvements shall be ascertained by three disinterested arbitrators to be chosen and agreed to by both parties. They further propose, that should the parties disagree in the choice of arbitrators, then . . . . is to choose them. They further propose, that twelve of the Mormons shall be permitted to go along with the arbitrators to show them their land and improvement while valuing the same, and such other of the Mormons as the arbitrators shall wish to do so, to give them information; and the people of Jackson County hereby guarantee them safety while doing so. They further propose that when the arbitrators report the value of the land and improvements, as aforesaid, the people of Jackson

will pay the valuation, *with one hundred percent added thereon,* to the Mormons, within thirty days thereafter. They further propose, that the Mormons, are not to make any effort, ever after, to settle, either collectively or individually within the limits of Jackson County. The Mormons are to enter into bonds to insure the conveyance of their lands in Jackson County, according to the above terms, when the payment shall be made; and the committee will enter into a like bond, with such security as may be deemed sufficient, for the payment of the money, according to the above proposition. While the arbitrators are investigating and deciding upon the matters referred to them, the Mormons are not to attempt to enter into Jackson County, or to settle there, except such as are by the foregoing propositions permitted to go there. They further propose, that the people of Jackson will sell all their lands, and improvements on public lands, in Jackson County, to the Mormons—the valuation to be obtained in the same manner—the same percent, in addition, to be paid, and the time the money is to be paid the same as the above set forth in our propositions to buy, the Mormons to give good security for the payment of the money, and the undersigned will give security that land will be conveyed to the Mormons. They further propose, that all parties are to remain as they are till the payment is made, at which time the people of Jackson County will give possession.

(Signed) Samuel C. Owens, Richard Fristoe, Thos. Campbell, John Davis, Thos. Jeffries, Smallwood Noland, Robert Rickman, Abraham McClellan, S. K. Noland.

To the average man an offer of twice a fair valuation of his property ought to be considered a fair offset for taking it from him by force. But the position of the Mormons was an unusual one. They believed that God had designated this particular land as the site for the New Jerusalem and that they had been called upon to assist in the building of this sacred city. To sell their lands and to agree never to return meant being false to their religion and to the trust God had reposed in them. On the other hand, since the Old Citizens owned much more land than did the Mormons, for the latter to attempt to buy them out at twice the actual value of their property, and to pay for it within 30 days, was altogether an impossibility. It is doubtful, had they been given a year's time and had been required to pay only a fair valuation for the Old Citizens' property, if they could have done so. The Old Citizens understood the situation and, it appears, purposely made the conditions such that the Mormons could not possibly buy. But, on the other hand, their offer remained to pay the Mormons twice the value of their lands and improvements.

On June 21st the Mormon Committee sent the following reply to the Jackson Committee:

Clay County, 1st June, 1834.

Gentlemen:—Your propositions of Monday last have been generally made known to our people, and we are instructed to inform you that they cannot be acceded to.

Honorable propositions are now making on our part and we think we shall be enabled to deliver the same to you the early part of this week. We are happy to have it in our power to give you assurances that our brethren

here, together with those who have arrived from the East, are unanimously disposed to make every sacrifice for an honorable adjustment of our differences that could be required of free citizens of the United States.

Negotiations are now going on between some gentlemen of this county and our brethren, which are calculated to allay the great excitement in your county. We are informed that citizens of Jackson entertain fears that our people intend to invade their territory in a hostile manner. We assure you that their fears are groundless; such is not and never was our intentions.

(Signed) W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert, W. E. McClellan, John Corrill, Isaac Morley.

To S. C. Owens, and others of the Jackson committee.[1]

This reply of the Mormons is of historic significance. The attitude taken (and it may here be observed that it was adhered to throughout) constitutes a substantial answer to all enquiries concerning the character of these early Mormons. Poor as they had been before their expulsion, what may be thought of them during this trying winter of 1833-34, stripped, as they were, of shelter and of adequate food supplies, and bivouacked on the western confines of civilization. An offer of twice the value of their old possessions must have carried a strong appeal to these people in their great need. In steadfastly refusing all offers of sale under the conditions imposed by the Jackson citizens, they undeniably demonstrated that they were in possession of strong integrity of character and in no sense wanting in genuine courage.

At the request of Hon. J. F. Ryland, who was making an effort to bring about a compromise, Cornelius Gillium, John Lincoln, John Sconce and another gentleman of Clay County, visited Zion's Camp, June 22, 1834, and the following counter proposals from the Mormons were the result:

Counter Propositions from the Mormons[2]

. . . . In the first place, it is not our intention to commit hostilities against any man or set of men, it is not our intention to injure any man's person or property, except in defending ourselves. Our flag has been exhibited to the above gentlemen who will be able to describe it. Our men were not taken from any manufacturing establishment. It is our intention to go back to our lands in Jackson County, by order of the executive of this state, if possible. We have brought our arms with us for the purpose of self defence, as is well known to almost every man of the state, that we have every reason to put ourselves in an attitude of defense considering the abuse we have suffered in Jackson County. We are anxious for a settlement of the difficulties existing between us, upon honorable and constitutional principles.

We are willing for twelve disinterested men, six to be chosen by each party, and these men shall say what the possessions of those men are worth who cannot live with us in the county; and they shall have their money in one year; and none of the Mormons shall enter that county to reside until the money is paid. The damages that we have sustained in conse-

1 *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6. p. 1092.

2 *Ibid.*, vol 6, pp. 1108-09.

quence of having been driven away, shall also be left to the above twelve men, or they may all live in that county if they choose, and we will never molest them if they will let us alone, and permit us to enjoy our rights. We want to live in peace with all men and equal rights is all we ask. We wish to become permanent citzens of this state, and wish to bear our proportion in support of the government and to be protected by its laws. If the above propositions are complied with, we are willing to give security on our part; and we shall want the same of the people of Jackson County for the performance of this agreement. We do not wish to settle down in a body, except where we can purchase the land with money; for to take possession by conquest or the shedding of blood, is entirely foreign to our feelings. The shedding of blood we shall not be guilty of, until all just and honorable means among men prove insufficient to restore peace.

(Signed) Joseph Smith, F. G. Williams, Lyman Wight, Roger Orton, Orson Hyde, John S. Carter.

To John Lincoln, John Sconce, Geo. R. Moorhead, James H. Long, James Collins.

Four days later, S. C. Owens, chairman of the Jackson Committee, wrote to Amos Reese, Attorney for the Mormons, this reply to their proposals:[1]

Independence Mo.
June 26, 1834.

Mr. Amos Reese:

Dear Sir:—Since my return from Liberty, I have been busily engaged in conversing with the most influential men of our county, endeavoring to find out, if possible, what kind of a compromise will suit the Mormons on their part. The people here, enmasse, I find out, will do nothing like according to their propositions. We will have a meeting, if possible, on Monday next, at which time the proposals of the Mormons will be answered. In the meantime, I would be glad, that they, the Mormons, would cast an eye back of Clinton and see if that is not a country calculated for them.

Yours respectfully,
S. C. Owens.

In the meantime cholera broke out in "Zion's Camp" and, in a very short time, thirteen died. It was thought best to disband the camp and scatter, which was done on June 24th. Most of the camp members returned to Ohio. The effect on the negotiations, of this turn of affairs, soon became apparent. The Jackson citizens were now relieved of any possibility of the Mormons returning and taking possession of their homes by force. They had already made what they considered a generous offer of reimbursement to the Mormons. It was plainly to their advantage to let things slide.

On July 10, 1834, John Corrill, representing the Mormons, wrote to S. C. Owens of the Jackson Committee, as follows:[2]

Samuel C. Owens, Esq.,

Sir: The last time I saw you at Liberty you said that an answer to our proposals, you thought, would be forwarded soon, but it has not been

1 *Times and Seasons,* vol 6, pp. 1107-8.
2 *Ibid.,* vol. 6, p. 1123.

done. We are anxiously waiting to have a compromise effected if possible. Respecting our wheat in Jackson County, can it be secured so that we can receive the avails of it or not, seeing we are at present prohibited the privilege?

John Corrill.

P. S. Please hand the following to Colonel Pitcher. (A Copy of the governor's order for the restoration of the Mormons' arms follows.)

But as far as I am able to find, no answer to this letter was ever received.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MORMON POINT OF VIEW

After our study of the Mormon program, it is not necessary to devote much space to their point of view. They had a partcular thing they wanted to do—to establish a sacred city, Zion, at Independence, Mo. They proposed to buy land from the government and from the Old Settlers as fast as they could accumulate means with which to do so. They expected to obey the laws of the land and to respect the rights of their neighbors. If any non-Mormons in the county did not care to sell their lands to them, such would have the same rights the Mormons claimed for themselves as American citizens. None need sell to them who did not so choose, and those who did not choose to do so, could feel as secure and as free from molestation as in any part of the Union. At the time of the exodus, twelve hundred Mormons had made their homes in Jackson County. They owned several thousand acres of land and were in possession of deeds to them from the government or from private individuals who had sold to them. Whatever might be said of those Mormons who had not yet come to Missouri, these twelve hundred had their rights. They were American citizens. They had established homes, and had become attached to them. Said Algernon S. Gilbert, "After all, home is home." Not the market value of these possessions, nor twice that amount would be acceptable in place of them. They desired not favors, but simply the ordinary rights of American citizenship, to own property and to be protected in the possession thereof, in order that they might build a city, under a plan, and in a manner, that they believed was inspired of God. The Mormons appreciated the fact that they would soon outnumber the Old Citizens, but they hoped to be able shortly to buy out those who "could not live among them."

It is clear to any impartial investigator that the Mormons were entitled to the possession of their lands and equally clear that there was nothing in the laws of Missouri or of the United States to prevent the Mormons from coming to the county and purchasing land and making their homes there. Governor Dunklin clearly appreciated this as did also the Old Citizens themselves[1]. Without any shadow of a doubt the Mormons were within their rights, and, had the civil government of the state, enforced the ordinary commonplace rights that are vouchsafed not only to the citizens of the United States, but to citizens of other nations who might choose

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1 See "Address to the Public" for minutes of the meeting held July 23, 1833, at Independence, printed at the end of this chapter.

to reside here as well, the Mormons would have been permitted to carry on the experiment of the United Order, either to a failure from within, or to a successful conclusion.

Nearly a hundred years have gone since the Mormons first entered Missouri. During that time most of the causes of difficulty have passed away. As our investigation has shown, a great deal of the early bitterness was based on suspicions and misunderstandings incident to slavery and frontier days. Other difficulties were born out of the newness of Mormonism. Its objects, its methods were largely unknown to the American public. The character of the people had not yet manifested itself. Now everyone knows that the Mormons are loyal to the government, and patriotic to their country. But it needed the Mormon Battalion, the Civil War, the Spanish War and the World War to make full demonstration of it. Anyone who has come into personal contact with the Mormons out West knows that, as a people, they are unusually law-abiding and that their religion has not had the expected result of making them poor civil officers. Utah stands very high among the states in educational tests of all kinds, and no longer can the epitaph of "ignorant and low" be laid at the Mormon door. And, as for believing in present day connection with the Divine Creator, through revelation and inspiration, and in consequence of such beliefs, being superstitious fanatics, it may be said that the Mormons have through their loyalty to their convictions placed themselves on a plane where respect has taken the place of censure among those who know them. Since this, in any case, is only a difference in religious viewpoint, it cannot, in the present day, be regarded as a legitimate reason for maintaining enmity. All in all, there is little left of the old causes of misunderstanding. As fate would have it, Jackson County (the old district) has grown in population almost as fast as has Mormonism, and there is no certainty, therefore, that political control would have passed to the Mormons or been retained by them even in this one county. May it not be hoped, therefore, that in the future the newer generations in Missouri and in Utah may right these "old wrongs" by establishing relations of friendly intercourse. Perchance the Mormons may desire to renew the old effort on a smaller scale. When such a time comes, if it does, will not the people of Jackson County, far removed as they are from the heat of the old conflict, and in possession of a larger tolerance born of experience and nurtured by the spirit of progress, feel to welcome a renewal of the Mormon effort to establish industrial equality while at the same time they are building their "chosen city" at the designated spot, in the "Center Place," which they have called "Zion."

NOTES

The Secret Constitution[1]

We, the undersigned, Citizens of Jackson County, believing that an
ıportant crisis is at hand, as regards our civil society, in consequence
f a pretended religious sect of people, that have settled and are still
ttling in our county, styling themselves Mormons; and intending, as we
), to rid our society, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must," and
lieving as we do, that the arm of the civil law does not afford us
guarantee, or at least, a sufficient one, against the evils which are now
flicted upon us, and seem to be increasing, by the said religious sect,
eem it expedient, and of the highest importance to form ourselves into
company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose—a
ırpose which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified as well by
e law of nature, as by the law of preservation.

It is more than two years since these fanatics, or knaves, (for one
the other they undoubtedly are) made their first appearance amongst
, and pretended as they did, and now do, to hold personal communication
ıd converse face to face with the Most High God; to receive communica-
ons and revelations direct from heaven; to heal the sick by laying on
ınds; and, in short, to perfom all the wonder-working miracles wrought
the inspired Apostles and Prophets of old.

We believed them deluded fanatics, or weak and designing knaves,
ıd that they and their pretensions would soon pass away; but in this
e were deceived. The arts of a few designing leaders amongst them,
ıve thus far succeeded in holding them together as a society; and since
e arrival of the first of them, they have been daily increasing in numbers;
ıd if they had been respectable citizens in society and thus deluded, they
ould have been entitled to our pity rather than to our contempt and
ıtred; but from their appearance, from their manners, and from their
onduct since their coming among us, we have every reason to fear that,
ith very few exceptions, they were of the very dregs of that society from
hich they came, lazy, idle, and vicious. This we conceive is not idle
ssertion, but a fact susceptible of proof, for with these few exceptions
ımed above, they brought into our county little or no property with them
ıd left less behind them, and we infer that those only yoked themselves
the Mormon car who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the
ıange; and we fear that if some of the leaders amongst them, had paid
e forfeit due of crime, instead of being chosen ambassadors of the Most
igh, they would have been inmates of solitary cells. But their conduct
ere stamps their characters in their true colors. More than a year since,
was ascertained that they had been tampering with our slaves and en-
eavoring to sow dissentions and raise seditions amongst them. Of this
eir Mormon leaders were informed, and they said they would deal with
ıy of their members who should again in like case offend. But how
ecious are appearances. In a late number of the *Star*, published in Inde-
ıdence by the leaders of the sect, there is an article inviting free negroes
ıd mulattoes from other states to become Mormons, and remove and settle
nong us. This exhibits them in still more odious colors. It manifests
desire on the part of their society to inflict on our society an injury that
ey know would be to us entirely insupportable and one of the surest

1 Printed in Joseph Smith, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 374-76; also in Howe, *Mormonism nveiled.*

means of driving us from the county; for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that they pretend to have, to see that the introduction of such a caste amongst us would corrupt our blacks, and instigate them to bloodshed.

They openly blaspheme the Most High God, and cast contempt on His holy religion, by pretending to receive revelations direct from heaven, by pretending to speak unknown tongues, by direct inspiratiaon, and by divers pretenses derogatory to God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason.

They declare openly that God has given them this county of land, and that sooner or later they must and will have possession of our lands for an inheritance; and, in fine, they have conducted themselves on many other occasions, in such manner, that we believe it a duty we owe to ourselves, our wives, and children to the cause of public morals, to remove them from among us, as we are not prepared to give up our pleasant places and goodly possessions to them, or to receive into the bosom of our families, as fit companions for our wives and daughters, the degraded and corrupted free negroes and mulattoes that are now invited to settle among us.

Under such a state of things, even our beautiful county would cease to be a desirable residence, and our situation intolerable. We, therefore, agree that after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us—we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors.

We will meet at the Court House, at the Town of Independence, on Saturday next, the 20th inst., (July) to consult on subsequent movements.

Hundreds of names were signed to this document, including prominent officials of the county.

Minutes of the Jackson Citizens' Proceedings. First Published in the Western Monitor, Fayette, Mo., August 2, 1833[1]

At a meeting of the citizens of Jackson County, Missouri, called for the purpose of adopting measures to rid themselves of the sect of fanatics called Mormons, held at Independence on the 20th day of July, 1833, which meeting was composed of gentlemen from every part of the county, there being present between four and five hundred persons.

The meeting was organized by calling Colonel Richard Simpson to the chair, and appointing James R. Flourney and Col. Samuel D. Lucas secretaries. It was resolved that a committee of seven be appointed to report an address to the public, in relation to the object of this meeting; and the chair named the following gentlemen, *to wit*: Russell Hicks, Esq., Robert Johnson, Henry Chiles, Esq., Colonel James Hambright, Thomas Hudspeth, Joel F. Chiles, and James M. Hunter. The meeting then adjourned, and convened again, when Robert Johnson, the chairman of said committee, submitted for the consideration of the meeting, the following address, etc.:

This meeting, professing to act not from the excitement of the moment, but under deep and abiding conviction, that the occasion is one that calls for cool deliberation, as well as energetic action, deem it proper to lay before the public an expose of our peculiar situation, in regard to this singular sect of pretended Christians, and a solemn declaration of our unalterable determination to amend it.

The evil is one that no one could have foreseen ,and is, therefore, unprovided for by the laws, and the delays incident to legislations, would put the mischief beyond remedy.

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[1] Reprinted in the *Times and Seasons*, vol. 6, pp. 832-35.

But little more than two years ago, some two or three of these people made their appearance in the Upper Missouri, and they now number some twelve hundred souls in this county; and each successive autumn and spring pours forth its swarm among us, with a gradual falling of the character of those who compose them; until it seems that those communities from which they come, were flooding us with the very dregs of their composition. Elevated as they mostly are, but a little above the condition of our blacks either in regard to property or education, they have become a subject of much anxiety on that part, serious and well-grounded complaints having been already made of their corrupting influence on our slaves.

We are daily told, and not by the ignorant alone, but by all classes of them, that we, (the Gentiles) of this county, are to be cut off, and our lands appropriated by them for an inheritance. Whether this is to be accomplished by the hand of the destroying angel, the judgments of God, or the arm of His power, they are not fully agreed among themselves.

Some recent remarks in the *Evening and Morning Star,* their organ in this place, by their tendency to moderate such hopes and repress such desires, show plainly that many of this deluded and infatuated people, have been taught to believe, that our lands were to be won from us by the sword. From this same *Star* we learn that for want of more honest or commendable employment, many of their society are now preaching through the states of New York, Ohio, and Illinois, and that their numbers are increasing beyond every rational calculation; all of whom are required as soon as convenient to come up to Zion, which name they have thought proper to confer on our little village. Most of those who have already come, are characterized by the profoundest ignorance, the grossest superstition, and the most abject poverty.

Indeed, it is a subject of regret by the *Star* itself, that they have come not only to lay an inheritance, which means some fifteen acres of wild land for each family, but destitute of the means of procuring bread and meat. When we reflect on the extensive field in which the sect is operating, and that there exists in every country a leaven of superstition that embraces with avidity, notions the most extravagant and unheard of, and that whatever can be gleaned by them from the purlieus of vice, and the abodes of ignorance, it is to be cast like a waif into our social circle, it requires no gift of prophecy to tell that the day is not far distant when the civil government of the county will be in their hands. When the sheriff, the justices, and the county judges will be Mormons, or persons wishing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition.

What would be the fate of our lives or property, in the hands of jurors or witnesses, who do not blush to declare, and would not upon occasion hesitate to swear that they have wrought miracles, and have been the subjects of miraculous and supernatural cures; have conversed with God and His angels, and possess and exercise the gifts of divination and of unknown tongues, and fired with the prospect of obtaining inheritances without money and without price, may be better imagined than described.

One of the means resorted to by them, in order to drive us to emigrate, is an indirect invitation to free brethern of color in Illinois, to come up, like the rest, to the Land of Zion—true, they say this was not intended to invite, but to prevent their emigration, but this weak attempt to quiet our apprehensions is a poor compliment to our understandings. The article alluded to, contained an extract from our laws, and all necessary directions and cautions to be observed by colored brothren, to enable them upon their arrival here, to claim and exercise the rights of citizenship. Contemporaneous with the appearance of this article, was the expectation among the brethren here, that a considerable number of this degraded cast were only awaiting this information before they should set out on their

journey. With the corrupting influence of these on our slaves, and the stench both physical and moral, that their introduction would set afloat in our social atmosphere, and the vexation that would attend the civil rule of these fanatics, it would require neither a visit from the destroying angel nor the judgments of an offended God to render our situation here insupportable. True, it may be said, and truly no doubt, that the fate that has marked the rise and fall of Joanna Southcote and Ann Lee will also attend the progress of Joe Smith; but this is no opiate to our fears, for when the fabric falls, the rubbish will remain.

Of their pretended revelations from heaven—their personal intercourse with God and His angels—the maladies they pretend to heal by the laying on of hands—and the contemptible gibberish with which they habitually profane the Sabbath, and which they dignify with the appellation of unknown tongues, we have nothing to say, vengeance belongs to God alone—but as to the other matters set forth in this paper, we feel called on by every consideration of self-preservation, good society, public morals, and the fair prospects, that if not blasted in the germ, await this young and beautiful county, at once to declare, and we do hereby most solemnly declare:

That no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this county.

That those now here, who shall give a definite pledge of their intention within a reasonable time to remove out of the county, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without any material sacrifice.

That the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must, in every case, strictly comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration, and upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same.

That the Mormon leaders here, are required to use their influence in preventing any further emigration of their distant brethren to this county, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions.

That those who fail to comply with these requisitions, be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of divination, and of unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them.

Which address being read and considered, was unanimously adopted. And thereupon it was resolved that a committee of twelve be appointed forthwith to wait on the Mormon leaders, and see that the foregoing requisitions are strictly complied with by them; and, upon their refusal, that said committee do, as the organ of this county, inform them that it is our unwavering purpose and fixed determination, after the fullest considerations of all of the consequences and responsibilities under which we act, to use such means as will insure their full and complete adoption, and that said committee, so far as may be within their power, report to this present meeting. And the following gentlemen were named as said committee: Robert Johnson, James Campbell, Colonel Moses Eilson, Joel F. Chiles, Hon. Richard Fristoe, Abner F. Styles, George Johnson, Lewis Franklin, Russell Hicks, Esq., Colonel S. D. Lucas, Thomas Wilson, and James M. Hunter, to whom was added Colonel R. Simpson, Chairman, and after an adjournment of two hours, the meeting again convened, and the committee of twelve reported that they had called on Mr. Phelps, editor of the *Star*, Edward Partridge, bishop of the sect, and Mr. Gilbert, the keeper of the Lord's Storehouse, and some others, and that they declined giving any direct answer to the requisitions made of them, and wished for an unreasonable time for consulation, not only with their brethren here but in Ohio.

Whereupon it was unanimously resolved by the meeting, that the *Star* rinting office should be razed to the ground, the type and press secured. Vhich resolution was, with the utmost order, and the least noise and dis- ırbance possible, forthwith carried into execution, as also some other teps of similar tendency; but no blood was spilled nor any blows inflicted. 'he meeting then adjourned till the 23rd instant, to meet again to know ırther concerning the determination of the Mormons.

Resolved, that a copy of these proceedings be posted up at the post ffice in this place, for the information of all concerned; and that the ecretaries of this meeting send copies of the same to the principal editors ı the eastern and middle states for publication, that the Mormon brethren ıay know at a distance that the gates of Zion are closed against them—that ıeir interests will be best promoted by remaining among those who know ıd appreciate their merits.

Richard Simpson, Chairman.
S. C. Owens } Secretaries.
J. H. Flourney }

The citizens again convened on the 23rd of July, 1833, which was com- osed of gentlemen from all parts of the county, and much more unani- ıously attended than the meeting on the 20th inst.

The meeting was organized by the chairman taking his seat, when the ollowing gentlemen were appointed a committee, *to wit*:

Henry Chiles, Esq., Doctor N. K. Olmstead, H. L. Brazile, Esq., achariah Faller, Samuel Weston, Esq., Wm. L. Irwin, Leonidas Oldham, . C. Owens, Esq., George Simpson, Capt. Benjamin Majors, James C. adler, Col. Wm. Bowers, Henry Younger, Russel Hicks, Esq., Aaron verton, John Harris and Harmon Gregg to wait upon the Mormon aders who had intimated a wish to have a conference with said committee.

After an adjournment of two hours the meeting again convened, when e committee reported to the meeting that they had waited on most of e Mormon leaders consisting of the bishop, Mr. Partridge; Mr. Phelps, litor of the *Star;* Mr. Gilbert, keeper of the Lord's Storehouse; and Iessers. Corrill, Whitmer and Morley, elders of the church, and that id committee had entered into an amicable agreement with them which ey had reduced to writing, which they submitted; and that the com- ittee have assured Mr. Phelps that whenever he was ready to move that e amount of all his losses would be paid to him by the citizens. The ritten agreement is as follows:

"Memorandum of agreement between the undersigned of the Mormon ciety, in Jackson County, Missouri, and a committee appointed by a ıblic meeting of the citizens of said county, made the 23rd day of July, 33. It is understood that the undersigned, members of the society, do ve their solemn pledges, each for himself, as follows, *to wit*:

"That Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, Wm. McClellan, Edward ırtridge, Lyman Wright, Simeon Carter, Peter and John Whitmer, and arvey Whitlock, shall remove with their families out of this county, on before the first day of January next, and that they as well as the two reinafter named, use all their influence to induce all the brethren now re, to remove as soon as possible—one half, say, by the first of January xt, and all by the first day of April next. To advise and try all means their power, to stop any more of their sect from moving to this county; d as to those now on the road, they will use their influence to prevent eir settling permanently in the county but that they shall make arrange- ents only for temporary shelter, till a new location is agreed on for the ciety. John Corrill and Algernon Gilbert, are allowed to remain as ıeral agents to wind up the business of the society, so long as necessity

shall require; and said Gilbert may sell out his merchandise now on hand, but is to make no new importation.

"The *Star* is not again to be published, nor a press set up by any of the society in this county.

"If said Edward Partridge and W. W. Phelps move their families by the first day of January, as aforesaid, that they themselves will be allowed to go and come in order to transact and wind up their business.

"The committee pledge themselves to use all their influence to prevent any violence being used so long as a compliance with the foregoing terms is observed by the parties concerned, to which agreement is subscribed the names of the above named committee, as also those of the Mormon brethren named in the report as having been present."

Which report of the committee was unanimously adopted by the meeting, and thereupon the meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

Richard Simpson, Chairman.

S. D. Lucas } Secretaries.
J. H. Flourney }

PART III—THE UNITED ORDER APPROACH TO SOME OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC LIFE

CHAPTER XV

NEED OF A FULLER CONSIDERATION OF THE ORDER —PRIVATE PROPERTY

Short as was the life of the new Zion, its two years of struggle brought forth many problems, some of which were in process of adequate solution as we have already seen, while others were only beginning to attract attention. Many of the great questions that are pressing forward for solution now, had no place in a small, frontier community of nearly one hundred years ago. But the United Order is a general plan, and it becomes of interest to observe not only its method of attack upon the problems which were actually encountered in Missouri in 1831-34, but to also view it in relation to some of the great, major problems of economic relationship which occupy men's minds today. Let us turn, therefore, to a more general and a somewhat more theoretical consideration of the United Order.

The Right to Private Property

Private property in some form or other is a very old institution. It is a common assumption that the right to possess property is of the same "kith and kin" as those primary rights with which the eighteenth century writers inform us we are born. It is not necessary, however, to go back very far even into later history to find that the conception of private property of today has little resemblance to that which was had by the people of only a few centries ago. In England, where our laws were largely gradually evolved, the early villeins not only could not own land but could not leave it, and were more like chattels which belonged to it, than otherwise. In those days, capital in the modern sense was practically unknown. A rude plow and a pair of oxen almost told the story and the cotters or borders, much less the servi or slaves did not possess these. Personal property, which has assumed such large proportions today and which the taxing power has found so much difficulty in locating, was limited then to a few personal belongings.

Take land, capital, and personal property out of the conception of private property and what have we left? Not only has the institution of private property not always existed, but there is no certainty that it shall always remain. It is merely one of the

"adjustments" that the present industrial order has made extensive use of.[1]

If it is conceded that private property should be maintained, certain inquiries arise. Among these are: In what and to what extent shall it maintain? All are forms of wealth to be open to acquisition by the individual citizen, or is he to be limited to certain kinds of property? Are legal guarantees to vonchsafe to him and his heirs continued possession, or shall the possession of property be limited in time?

From the viewpoint of the United Order the earth belongs to God. "Behold, all these properties are mine, or else your faith is vain, and ye are found hypocrites, and the covenants which ye have made with me are broken."[2] The individual is a steward only. "But, verily I say unto you, I have appointed unto you to be stewards over mine house."[3] There is no intention, however, to take away from the individual control over property. His stewardship is to be deeded to him, and he retains possession of it even in case he leaves the order.[4]

> And if he shall transgress and is not accounted worthy to belong to the church, he shall not have power to claim that portion which he has consecrated unto the bishop for the poor and needy of my church; therefore, he shall not retain the gift, but shall only have claim on that portion that is deeded unto him.[5]

The individual's right to property is thus seen to be of considerable importance. It is limited with respect to the amount which may be acquired but not as to the time during which it may be held. With respect to the former, a stewardship was intended to be of sufficient proportions to enable the individual to provide a comfortable living for his family. "Every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family."[6] As regards the latter, the practice of passing inheritances on from father to son was definitely specified. "And this stewardship and blessing, I the Lord, confer upon my servant Pelagoram (Sidney Rigdon) for a blessing upon him, and his seed after him."[7]. No limitation whatever is made on the kind of property which the individual may acquire. However, he is exhorted to avoid luxury. "And again, thou shalt not be proud in thy heart; let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the

1 H. J. Davenport, *The Economics of Enterprise*, (New York, 1918) p. 20, says: "Private property, individual initiative, competition, the money system, and production for the price market, are mere present adjustments, no one of which has always been, or is everywhere now, or is certain to remain."

2 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104:55.

3 *Ibid.*, Sec. 104:57.

4 *Ibid.*, 51:4-5.

5 *Ibid.*, 51:5.

6 *Ibid.*, Sec. 42:32.

7 *Ibid.*, Sec. 104:22.

beauty of the work of thine own hands."[1] And it is made plain that industrious effort is expected in the living-making process. "Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer."[2]

The spirit of the United Order tends naturally to weaken the conception of private property. If an individual is made to feel that ownership belongs to God and that, at best, he is but a steward over a certain portion, and that this portion is intended to be roughly equal to other portions, he will naturally feel that his equity in property is not so final as is common to consider it under present arrangements. In practical operation, however, the deeding of the portion to the individual and the definite understanding that it belongs to him and to his heirs after him, gives the individual as great a final control over his portion as exists under the most extreme forms of capitalism. Such an arrangement, while possessing many advantages, cannot but involve grave problems, particularly when the important question of the surplus arises. But this difficulty will be considered later. Here suffice it to point out that private property is made the foundation on which the United Order rests. Not the possibility of unlimited acquirement but an assured amount sufficient for the "wants and needs" of the family until such time as the success of the movement, if such there be, makes possible the gradual enlargement of all the stewardships in the community involved.

The theoretical incentive of capitalism to industry, it is evident, falls off considerably. Particularly does the prospect of wealth for the able member of the United Order look small when compared to the wonderful possibilities which nineteenth century America offered to men of energy and ability. Then, unmeasured possibilities beckoned to the individual and many responded with heroic efforts. The net results were, that practically everybody worked hard, a considerable number became wealthy, the big majority obtained a comfortable living, and a large number remained poor. The call of "unlimited possession" operated powerfully and does so today, in getting the world's work done.

The practical call to industrious effort as opposed to the theoretical one, is not so strong, however, under present day capitalism. It has been pointed out that with a large proportion of national wealth concentrated in relatively few hands, and with the national income going, to a proportionately large extent, to the possessors of great wealth, the real incentive which lies back of the "call" to go to work and by industry and intelligent effort become a millionaire, is but a small one to the average man. What theoretically is intended to encourage to effort, practically discourages and antagonizes. If the average man is able through

1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 42:40.
2 *Ibid.,* Sec. 42:42.

industrious effort to make a comfortable living for his family, he is doing well, and he sees many hard workers whose standard of living is none too high. This is true. It is also true, however, that the condition of the average man is better today than it has ever been in the history of the world, and it must not be forgotten that it is the present system that is responsible for the advance made. We are concerned at this point only with incentive. While the United Order plan does not make the promises to the individual man of ability that capitalism has made, it does make better promises to the average man and much better promises to the poor, among whom it may be hoped, there may be found under more favorable conditions many who will rise above the average. There are also in the United Order other compensations besides the strictly wealth enhancement one for the man of unusual ability. These will be considered more fully in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

CONSECRATION

The Process of Leveling Down and of Leveling Up

To bring about a high degree of equality in wealth ownership and in income, industrial organization must not only bring about a redistribution of wealth, but must also devise a means of preserving the equality so attained. It is evident that if an equal distribution were made there are such great differences in capacity that *laissez faire,* unhindered, would, within a few years, restore the former inequalities. The United Order proposes to attain to a fair approach to equality and to maintain it after it is once achieved, in the following manner:

> And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken . . . . and they shall be laid before he bishop of my church and his counsellors, two of the elders, or High Priests, such as he shall or has appointed for that purpose. And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church . . . . every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family.[1]

Also, "It is wisdom in me that my servant Martin Harris should be an example unto the church, in laying his moneys before the bishop of the church." And further, "this is a law unto every man that cometh into this land, to receive an inheritance."[2]

After substantial equality has thus been attained, it is to be maintained by placing in the common treasury all surplus that results from improving the inheritances.

> And all moneys that you receive in your stewardships, *by improving upon the properties which I have appointed unto you,* in houses, or in lands, or in cattle, or in all things, save it be the holy and sacred writings, which I have reserved unto myself for holy and sacred purposes, shall be cast into the treasury as fast as you receive moneys, by hundreds, or by fifties, or by twenties, or by tens, or by fives.[3]

Since the stewardships would become more or less different in productivity under different kinds of management, this provision might be expected to come into operation, or, perhaps, fail to come into operation, relatively early. It could not fail to give rise to some concern on the part of administrative officers and to be a source of dissatisfaction. Some would withhold, or perhaps con-

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec., 42:30-32.
2 *Ibid.,* Sec. 58:35 and 36.
3 *Ibid.,* Sec. 104:68.

ceal, part of their surplus; others would give it all. As to whether a redistribution is intended after inequalities in inheritances became pronounced, nothing definite is given, though a hint is contained in the first "revelation" on the Order in the use of the words "after this first consecration."[1] It could be assumed that other consecrations would take place. But this may or may not be a proper inference, for, since each new steward must consecrate his property before receiving his "inheritance," individual consecrations would be appearing regularly and the reference may be to these later individual consecrations. But whether such further redistribution occurs or not, substantial equality might well be achieved and as will appear shortly that seems to be what was desired.

The leveling down and the leveling up which is to result from it, in the working out of such a plan, can become an accomplished fact, it is evident, only providing a proportionate number of the rich as well as the poor become members. If middle class and poor only join, there will be some leveling down but little leveling up and all will be relatively poor. If the poor only join, difficulties will multiply and, even under favorabe circumstances, perseverance, unity, and ability alone can overcome the unpropitious beginning. The plan contemplates and requires as any such plan must do, capital to begin with. In short, an average community, with its small complement of rich and poor alike, and its larger body of middle class, constitutes the working material out of which the United Order is expected to mould a new industrial life.

1 *Doctrine and Covenants.* Sec. 42:33.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MANNER OF DIVIDING INHERITANCES

Perhaps there is no one thing which conduces more to an understanding of the source of Joseph Smith's power over his followers than does a study of his attitude on personal freedom. Individualism and free enterprise, which have done so much for modern civilization that they may be said to be the corner stones of the structure, have found their fullest expression in America. Born in 1805 in Vermont, Joseph Smith came in on the crest of the wave which carried individualism to its greatest height. Always on, or near, the frontiers, it is not surprising that he absorbed, not from political or industrial theory as found in books, but from the spirit of the times in which he lived, from independent frontier America, a strong individualistic bent. America has produced few religions. Mormonism, whether good or bad, is one of them. With respect to its attitude toward the individual it is typically American, for, in it the thread of compulsion is refined to the vanishing point and individual responsibility is made the foundation of the soul's salvation. This aspect of Joseph Smith's character deserves a much fuller treatment, but we shall consider its bearing only on the immediate question of the division of the inheritances.

The main difficulty that any new economic organization must encounter in an attempt to supplant or improve upon the present capitalistic system, is to be found in the necessary limitation of individual freedom. It has already been pointed out that liberty may mean, and often does in practice become, license. In the past the group has suffered much in order that the individual might be free to do many things that later experience has shown he should not be permitted to do at all. Legislation, during the last fifty years, has been concerned chiefly with the task of weeding out practices which in the earlier order of *laissez faire* were permitted. Social, or group interests, required the change. Unbridled individualism cannot exist in civilized society, for society presupposes social as well as individual interests. Only when the two are made to harmonize can the highest good be attained.

Again, another difficulty which any attempt to achieve equality involves, is the tendency toward sameness and monotony. In communism the average man soon develops a longing for a change. Everybody is much alike. He is but a cog in the social wheel and he must fit in where he is wanted. The rut is always close at hand, and ere long, he is in it and cannot get out. To him then does not come the rush of life, the spirit of adventure, the eternal newness of living, which, so far as its bearing on production goes, takes the pain out of toil, and often the regret out of

poverty. Life is by its very nature opposed to monotony. Surely a system which attempts to impose monotony upon economic life is not suitable to it, and cannot hope to survive. Egypt's art declined when the spirit of originality left her artists. Greece rose to her great heights when her citizens were free, when her restless life vibrated along old and new channels, and when the spirit of adventure carried her commerce to all parts of the ancient world. Modern life, freer still and less hindered, has surged beyond the old confinements and through the exaltation of the individual, has found "revelation" upon "revelation" of life in new and in old fields and in every clime. The spirit of life, of newness, of originality, of adventure is necessary to progress. It is necessary to the creative instinct, and creation is but the expression and the fulfillment of the individual life. Let us see how, in the dividing of the inheritances these important considerations are handled.

"Wherefore, let my servant, Edward Partridge, and those whom he has chosen, of whom I am well pleased, appoint unto this people their portion, every man equal according to their families, according to their circumstances, and their wants and needs."[1]

The first thing that attracts the attention is that equality is the central consideration. It is the working principle on which every decision is to be made. If difference of opinion arises, solution can be found by the application of this governing proposition. Every man equal. But there are different standards or norms by which equality can be measured. In an agricultural community where fertile land is plentiful, a strictly quantitative division of, let us say, eighty acres each would roughly achieve equality. Such a quantitative measure, however, is not the measuring rod by which Bishop Partridge was to be governed. Again, income might be made the measure and the stewardships could be enlarged or cut down until all received approximately the same income. But strictly income equality is not to be the goal of the bishop's endeavors, either. Neither is equality of gross product or equality of net product contemplated. What manner of equality is then desired?

1. *"Every man equal according to their families."* If an eighty-acre stewardship comfortably supports a family of five, how large an acreage of equally good land will be required to provide an equal standard for a family of eight? Clearly, it must be somewhat larger, though not necessarily in the ratio of eight to five, for the larger family may be older and may, perhaps, have reached its maximum number, and be nearing the period when numbers begin gradually to decline through marriage or otherwise, whereas the smaller family may be increasing in num-

[1] *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 51:3.

bers and may be confronting a prospect which will require, in the near future, as big an income as the larger family. What appears to be desired is that each father shall be enabled to give each of his children, no matter how large or small his family may be, advantages in developing their capacities and in enjoying the comforts and conveniences of life that are enjoyed by the other families in the community. If it so happens that the Order is successful and a relatively high standard of life prevails, productive power will tend to be greatly increased through this provision, for all the children who possess unusual capacities will have an opportunity to develop them. As I have already pointed out, such a situation would contrast very favorably with present conditions wherein industry, trade and commerce very largely gets along without the superior abilities of the children of the poor, for these abilities are in potential form only, and because their parents have not the means to train them, dwindle and die through disuse or find limited outlet in minor fields of activity. Equality then "according to their families" means inequality measured strictly from a family unit standpoint, but provides for a better equality by taking account of each individual member. Joseph Smith's individualism again finds expression.

2. *Equal according to their circumstances.* Two families may be equal in number but may legitimately require different means because of different circumstances. The professional man who makes his home in the city finds that he must pay more for rent and taxes, etc., than does the farmer in the country. The father who is sending his sons to college must make greater outlays than the man whose children are in the grade schools. The voice of the singer, the art of the painter, the insight of the scientist require initial expenditures of no small amount before the community can reap the benefit of their natural endowments. If unusual talents are not to be lost through lack of opportunity for development, the bishop must take account of *circumstances* and apportion inheritances in harmony with them.

Equality according to circumstances may mean numerical inequality, but it means that abstract non-existing equality is thrown overboard in favor of an equality which takes account of the actualities of life as they have been and are. Again it is the individual who has consideration.

3. *Equal according to their wants and needs.* In this third gauge of equality or limitation of equality a very disruptive element enters, for there are few things which have a wider range than human wants, or which multiply more rapidly under favorable conditions, or which vary more as between different individuals. And yet within classes there is considerable uniformity. The addition of the word, needs, making the two go together, simplifies the bishop's task considerably, and puts a restraining

hand on flying wants. But there is much in this stipulation. For preferences vary not only with respect to the amount of income but also with the character of employment. No one is in quite as good a position to select a vocation as is the individual himself. All cannot be farmers, or merchants, or manufacturers, or transportation agents, but many can be, and quite probably all can be accomodated in harmony with their individual *wants,* especially if a little care is used by the bishop in guiding productive effort into those channels which market conditions demand.

Equality of inheritance, bearing in mind wants and needs, might require some further numerical inequalities. A man who has a son ready to take a course in engineering in a distant community may *need* a stewardship somewhat larger than a man who has no such *want.* A man in business or in one of the professions may *need* a fresh collar or more expensive clothing for daily use than the farmer would care to wear at work in his field, and his laundry and tailor bills will be somewhat larger.

And so the good bishop must know his people. He must know how many mouths there are in the family to feed, what the earlier circumstances have been and what the present ones are, what the breadwinner wants to do and what his needs are. Bearing all such things in mind the bishop is to divide the "portions" and bring about as high a degree of equality as the circumstances permit.

It is well to bear in mind that no matter how equitably the bishop makes his division, a considerable difficulty cannot help but be encountered due to changing conditions as time goes on. Since the stewardships are deeded to the individual, it is difficult to change their extent to harmonize with changing conditions, and it is certain that the returns from the stewardships will vary considerably, within a few years, after the division has been made, so that full reliance on equality in holdings in order to maintain equality is not possible under the United Order, nor, perhaps, under any system, in which private property is basic. Life is shifting and seldom accomodates itself to set bounds. An inheritance is apportioned suitable to a large *family.* Within a few years the family dwindles away, but the large inheritance remains; *circumstances* temporarily require large outlays, later lesser ones perhaps; *wants* vary and *needs* change. Realizing all these things the bishop would most likely, if existing capital permitted, make the inheritances large enough so that the probable, prospective, major, legitimate wants of each particular family would be satisfied through the industry of its head and the frugality of its members. As has been already pointed out the approximate equality thus attained would be roughly maintained during the changing conditions and circumstances common to family life, through the practice of turning into the common treasury all surplus beyond family needs.

CHAPTER XVIII

CENTRAL PLANNING

A gain of prime importance, from the standpoint of stabilization in production, arises through the fact that the bishop apportions the inheritances. Under present economic conditions anyone is theoretically free to undertake any new enterprise that he may desire to engage in. If his judgment is wrong, he fails; if he has gauged the market correctly and conditions are otherwise favorable, he succeeds. Such is free enterprise. Needless to say it has most important positive advantages, as well as some serious drawbacks. Under the United Order no new stewardships, or *entrepreneur* undertakings, are established without a joint understanding between the individual concerned and the bishop, who together determine what the stewardship is to be, and the extent of it. While it may be presumed that the individual would make the proposals, the steadying hand of the bishop would prevent the launching out into fields already over-crowded, or in others where social needs were not such as to warrant expansion.

The potato crop furnishes a good example of the difficulty which too much freedom of enterprise brings. Each spring the farmer hazards a wild guess on how big the potato acreage is going to be and then proceeds to plant his crop. Not until sometime after every farmer has his seed in, does anyone know whether the nation's potato crop is going to be too large or too small. Entire freedom of enterprise such as the farmers enjoy often results in so large a yield that potatoes are not worth taking out of the ground. Too much free enterprise tends to destroy its usefulness. Most farmers would be very glad to get a li tle good information on how many potatoes he ought to plant, *before he plants*. Such information can be had only by planing at the center.[1]

The decentralized demand for labor in America exemplifies another weakness of unrestricted freedom of enterprise. In order that the various industries may be kept moving, and wth the absence of a comprehensive organization of the labor market, it has been nececsary to keep always on hand a great labor reserve which numbers, in normal times, from one and one half to three millions of men. These workers are idle and either they, or those who take their places, to keep the quota full, must always remain idle. The lamentable position these men and their families occupy, constitutes one of the costs of a faulty system. The establishment of a strongly centralized federal employment system would greatly relieve this difficulty. A poorly organized United Order system

1 *cf.*, Jones, *Economic Crises* (New York, 1900,) p. 41.

might easily fail to provide any remedy for such a situation. United Order machinery, however, would lend itself quite readily to a satisfactory solution of the problem if adequate steps were taken to achieve this result. The Central Board is not only strategically well situated to engage in central planning of the kind that would tend to lessen cyclical fluctuations and to dovetail seasonable industries but could very well turn its attention to the conservation of the Order's labor power. From its centralized position and its close connection with the various United Order units, an effective employment agency could well be operated. The fact also that in each unit or community, new stewardships are established only through the joint efforts of the steward and the bishop, would tend to stabilize the demand for labor and to diminish the need for a large standing labor reserve. An effective organization of the labor market would not be difficult under the United Order.[1]

The United Order offers unusual opportunity for the development of the whole field of central planning. In order to take care of the situation adequately the bishop's office would need to have, readily available, information compiled by a highly organized technical staff, which in turn would have at its immediate command accurate statistics on production and reliable information on local, national and world markets. Such a staff would probably be maintained by the Central Board. Only with this kind of help would it be possible to effectively fit the stewardships into a logical and harmonious system. Equipped with such information the bishop would be able to give to the steward concerned, just that information which under entire freedom of enterprise the individual has been so badly in need of but could not get, except in very large establishments. If a spirit of cooperation were maintained between the bishop and the stewards, there seems to be little reason for expecting much loss from the free enterprise angle. Everything depends on whether the bishop's office performs its functions as the organ of the Order and solely in its interests, or not. There appears to be no reason why it should not function in this manner. If so operated, the loss to free enterprise would be small and the gains large. Most of the present big wastes in production—crisis, depression, cyclical and seasonable unemployment of men and machines, etc., could be largely ironed out by fitting the new stewardships into a well-worked out system.

There is another point at which the cyclical problem can also be attacked under the Order; namely, in disposing of the surplus for improvements, but this will be discussed in connection with the surplus. Here it may be pointed out that, since control of the treasury into which the sulplus goes is exercised through the Order officers, these men will also have an important part in

[1] *cf.*, Lescoheir, *The Labor Market* (New York, 1919), pp. 161-199.

moulding the productive system into a unified whole and will, therefore, require the same kind of technical information that the bishop depends upon in apportioning the stewardships. Close cooperation between the bishop's office and the Central Board (Council) of the Order would be most essential.

If, from these two points of attack—through the new inheritances and through control over the surplus which goes into extensions and improvements, the Order is able to achieve a unified system which fills up the trough and levels down the crest of the cycle, this very great achievement will be accomplished with a minimum amount of interference with private enterprise. For obviously little or no limitation or interference with output will be necessary with the big body of old inheritances. None appears to be contemplated anywhere in the Order. The matter would likely be handled entirely, and it seems to the writer, could, probably, be handled adequately by the simple means of fitting new stewardships in, and by directing capital from the treasury at such times, and into such channels, as uniform production requires.[1]

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[1] *cf.* The report of President Harding's Conference on Unemployment, Sept., 1921, says:

"The ebb and flow in the demand for consumable goods may not be subject to direct control, but on the other hand, it should be possible in some measure to control the expansion of the national plant and equipment. If all branches of our public works and the construction works of our public utilities—the railways, the telephones, etc., could systematically put aside financial reserves to be provided in times of prosperity for the deliberate purpose of improvement and expansion in times of depressions, we would not only greatly decrease the depths of depression, but we would at the same time diminish the height of booms. We would, in fact, abolish acute unemployment and wasteful extravagance. For a rough calculation indicates that if we maintain a reserve of but 10 per cent of our average annual construction for this purpose we could almost iron out the fluctuations in unemployment."

The great difficulty involved in this excellent suggested remedy is in getting so many different interests to do it right at the time when profits are greatest and available resources are most badly needed to gather them in. Under the United Order it would be a very simple matter to lay aside at the treasury, 10 per cent or any other amount that might be needed to accomplish the purpose.

CHAPTER XIX

THE UNITED ORDER METHOD OF ADJUSTING INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

American experience with industrial disputes shows a tendency to provide for, and then to avoid, arbitration by a board composed of a representative chosen by each side of the controversy with a third member chosen by these two. The arbitration provision of the Erdman Act, which was of the voluntary type, was called into operation but a relatively few times. Both workers and employers seemed to feel that since the two members largely neutralized each other, too much responsibility tended to rest on the third man chosen. This objection holds also when two are selected from each side and these four appoint two more, an arrangement permitted in the Newland Act. Much more extensive use has been made of conciliation when men could be found who possessed the confidence of both parties.

Dr. Leonard Hatch divides the efforts made by the states to devise effective voluntary arbitration machinery into four classes: (1) local arbitration with no permanent agency; (2) permanent district or county boards established by private parties; (3) arbitration or conciliation (mediation) through the agency of state commissioners of labor; and (4) a special state board or commission to adjust disputes. As for results, Mr. Hatch concludes that groups (1) and (2) have turned out to be dead letters. Intervention by state commissioners (3) has proven somewhat more effective but has fallen short of expectations. State boards (4) have done some profitable work.[1] The New York and Massachusetts boards have become patterns for most of the other states. New York appointed its board through the governor, one member from each of the two dominant political parties, and a third from a labor organization. Recent legislation has removed the bipartisan element and given the work to a board composed of a chief mediator and two other officers of the department which are designated by the Industrial Commission.[2] The Massachusetts plan follows the more common method, wherein each side furnishes a representative and these two choose a third. In this state the board is obliged to make an investigation and is authorized to fix the responsibility for an outbreak. If the disputants make use of the services of the board, they must abide by its decisions for at least sixty days, and for six months, if neither party gives sixty days notice of intention to abandon it. The New York board is authorized to inquire into causes of disputes and to publish its

1 Groat, *Introduction to Organized Labor*, pp. 217-219.
2 Barnett and McCabe, *Mediation, Investigation and Arbitration in Industrial Disputes* (New York, 1916), p. 90.

findings. Its decisions are not binding for any specified period.[1]

Barnett and McCabe favor the general constitution of the Massachusetts plan for state boards, *i.e.*, a board of three, one from the employers, one from the labor organizations, and a third nominated by these two, but appointed by the governor. They suggest: That the board should be permanent; that the term of not more than one member should expire in one year; that a six year term is preferable to a three year term; that the members of the arbitration board should not serve as mediators; that honest, intelligent, fair minded men, who are not too widely known should be chosen to constitute the board; and that provision should be made for the employment of expert assistants.[2]

These writers think that the voluntary Newlands Act (either one from each side, these to choose a third; or two from each side who jointly select two more) provides the most desirable type of arbitration board for the national government, but they suggest that the field in which such boards operate should be greatly extended. If the two arbitrators chosen by the parties to a dispute fail to select a third, they think that the choice should be made by a mediation commission from a list prepared by an industrial council which in turn would be composed of twenty members, one half of which come from ten leading employers' associations and the other half from ten leading labor organizations.[3]

In all of these voluntary plans there is observable a strong tendency to connect the arbitration board up closely with the interests involved in the dispute rather than to depend upon an impartial body. It is quite certain that in a board of three, such as the Massachusetts plan calls for, each side will choose a safe man and the third man will come from the non-interested groups. The Erdman and the Newland Acts are based on this same idea. The Barnett-McCabe suggestion, just referred to, stays very close to it also.

In striking contrast to such voluntary agencies, is the compulsory idea of Australia and the compulsory Kansas law. In the former the Commonwealth law of 1904 concerned itself with the whole industrial field and provided for a single court of arbitration with a president who was to be the only member. Decisions were to be final, though a case might be stated to the high court (the supreme court of Australia) for advice. While strikes and lockouts were forbidden, no suit could be started for disregarding these prohibitions without the consent of the court. This consent has never been given.

So the statute has become much like a minimum wage law. The court has the right to appoint "boards of reference" wherein

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1 Barnett and McCabe, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-92.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-102.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-151.

employers and employees are brought together. Strikes occasionally occur, but are infrequent.[1]

The Kansas law of 1920 provides for a court of industrial relations which is composed of three judges whose appointment comes from the governor and who serve for a term of three years. The field covered includes, food products, manufacture of clothing, the mining or production of fuel, public utilities, the transportation of products coming under the act, and common carriers. Either on its own motion or on request by ten taxpayers in the locality, the court is authorized to summon the parties to a dispute and investigate the conditions of the industry. Strikes, picketing, and boycotting are prohibited. The court may institute suit in a superior court to enforce its rulings.[2]

The result in Australia has been, that precedent has become established, the volume of decisions has grown and the status of industrial relations has largely become a determined matter, and *judicially* determined. The question arises, is a judicial body qualified to make decisions on the many intricate problems of relationship which specialized production has brought about? The Kansas plan while embracing a much smaller field than does the Australian, still encounters this difficulty, *i.e.*. static determination of relationship as opposed to relationships that are determined by natural growth under the stress of changing or dynamic conditions. The Kansas Industrial Court is finding itself swamped in the effort to decide equitably numerous technical questions. Obviously only those closely connected with such work can properly understand the technicalities involved. Only, if compulsory arbitration by a single board, is confined to a narrow field, can it hope to perform satisfactory service.

A development of means of conciliation, mediation, and collective bargaining, gives much promise in this country. No doubt a large proportion of the difficulties which arise can be settled to better advantage in this way than through arbitration,[3] but the volume of disputes which are too difficult for the conciliation machinery now in use, and which issue in labor wars, is altogether too large and will likely remain considerable in the future. In the meanwhile, the demand, from the public, for effective adjustment machinery grows yearly. The need, therefore, for a development of arbitration methods to take care of disputes, which have reached a stage where the two parties concerned cannot be brought

1 Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation* (New York, 1920) pp. 165-168.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174. This act has recently been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court.

3 E. R. A. Seligan in his *Principles of Economics* (New York, 1921) says: "Voluntary conciliation through trade agreement is the method best suited to the temper and traditions of the American people, and is fortunately making rapid progress. But no amount of reliance on the 'sacred right of free contract,' will in the long run prevent society from asserting its paramount claims to the maintenance of industrial peace. No community will permanently brook opposition to these plain dictates of self-preservation and social progress."

together, is an obvious one.[1] Reluctantly, we approach nearer and nearer to compulsory arbitration with public utilities.

In view of such considerations, let us examine a little more carefully into the Mormon High Council method.[2] The instructions given concerning policy and procedure at the organization of the Kirtland High Council, February 17, 1834, are as follows:[3]

Whenever a high council of the Church of Christ is regularly organized, according to the foregoing pattern, it shall be the duty of the twelve councillors to cast lots by number and thereby ascertain who of the twelve shall speak first, commencing with number one and so on in succession to number twelve.

Whenever this council convenes to act upon any case, the twelve councillors shall consider whether it is a difficult one or not; if it is not, only two of the councillors shall speak upon it, according to the form above written.

But if it is thought to be difficult, four shall be appointed, and if more difficult, six; but in no case shall more than six be appointed to speak.

The accused, in all cases, has a right to one half of the council, to prevent insult or injustice.

And the councillors appointed to speak before the council are to present the case, after the evidence is examined, in its true light before the council, and every man is to speak according to equity and justice.

Those councillors who draw even numbers, that is 2. 4. 6. 8. 10 and 12, are the individuals who are to stand up in behalf of the accused, and prevent insult and injustice.

In all cases the accuser and the accused shall have a privilege of speaking for themselves before the council, after the evidences are heard and the councillors who are appointed to speak on the case have finished their remarks.

After the evidences are heard, the councillors, accuser and accused have spoken, the president shall give a decision according to the understanding which he shall have of the case, and call upon the twelve councillors to sanction the same by their vote.

But should the remaining councillors, who have not spoken, or any one of them, after hearing the evidences and pleading impartially, discover an error in the decision of the president. they can manifest it, and the case shall have a re-hearing.

And if, after a careful re-hearing, any additional light is thrown upon the case, the decision shall be altered accordingly.

But in case no additional light is given, the first decision shall stand, the majority of the council having power to determine the same.

It may be noted here that:

The High Council consists of twelve permanent members. A permanent body, as opposed to a new one for each dispute, has the advantage of being able to establish precedent, develop methods,

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1 Groat in his *Introduction to Organized Labor* (New York, 1920) p. 211, says: "The industries of America stand in need of some definite policies of adjustment in labor struggles. They are lagging behind other industrial countries in this respect." *cf.*, also Haines and Haines *Principles and Problems of Government* (New York, 1921), p. 389.

2 For many years the Mormon High Councils have not handled cases involving property which give promise of ending in law suits.

3 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 102:12.

and keep records of compiled information. As large a body as twelve could not encounter the difficulty of too much responsibility lodged on a single member as is necessary in a small board of three members. But the make-up of a High Council is very different from that of a board composed of representatives of the interested groups, such as the bi-partisan board wherein there is equal representation from both sides or such as the *tri-partite* board in which there is an equal representation of the three interests concerned, the public being one of the parties, and the two disputants the other two. The High Council is supposed to be an impartial body. Now, obviously, a permanent board of this kind would find, at times, some of its members interested in the outcome of decisions, and if the membership of the High Council did not represent a wide diversity of interests, a high degree of impartiality would be difficult to maintain. As a matter of fact, the Mormon High Councils do include many different interests. The present (1923) composition of the Salt Lake Stake (a city stake) High Council, is a fair sample. Of the twenty men who make up the stake presidency, the twelve High Councilors, and the five alternate High Councilors, one is a farmer; two, brick masons; one, a carpenter; one, a bookkeeper; two, accountants; two, merchants; one, a foreman of a printing company; one, a manager of a book store; two, members of the city commission; one, a school principal; one, a professor; one a clerical worker; and four are general executives of large business concerns.[1]

The impartiality of the High Council is emphasized not only in the diversity of interests of its membership, but in the policy to which the body is committed and the methods which it must employ. Evidence is to be "examined in its true light," and each councilor who speaks is to do so, "according to equity and justice." This is a very different approach than that of the lawyer bent on winning his case, right or wrong, or than that of the arbitrator who represents a particular interest and is determined, if possible, to put his whole program through, and, failing in that, to put as much of it through as he can. Impartiality is further sought for by drawing lots to determine who shall speak on the case and by having one half of the council, those drawing even numbers, represent the plaintiff, and the other half, the church; also, by giving full opportunity to the "accuser" and the "accused" to appear in their own behalf.

The United Order idea then, is first to remove the underlying causes of deep rooted antagonism by giving the wage earner a property stewardship, thus making each man a capitalist as well as a worker, and then to use a non-interested board whose policy

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1 This information was furnished by Nephi L. Morris, president of the Salt Lake Stake.

and methods tend to build up a specialized arbitration body, to adjust disputes that occur.

The question arises, is such an arrangement too academic, too idealistic? Will not the removal of the representatives of the interested groups from an arbitration body cause parties to a dispute to refuse to submit vital matters to such a body? The obvious answer to this query is furnished by American experience. The presence of the interested parties on the board, makes necessary the choosing of a non-interested party who virtually makes the decision, and vital questions are too important to hazard to such risk.

There is merit in the Mormon High Council idea.

CHAPTER XX

THE SURPLUS

It is common in discussion to underestimate the significance of change in human affairs. In the overweening desire to find solutions for problems that will be permanent, the mind constantly tries to image the future, but it tends to consider static relations in order to avoid complexities, whereas the actual situation is dynamic, old factors are retiring, new ones are coming to the front. What was is not, and what is will not be. In some things change proceeds repidly, in others slowly, but always, we may be assured, no today is ever exactly like its yesterday.

Clark enumerates five important causes of dynamic change as follows:[1] 1. Growth of population. 2. Growth of capital. 3. New methods of production. 4. Changes in organization of productive establishments. 5. Changes in consumers' wants.

All of these things react on demand and supply and tend to change relations throughout the whole field of production, exchange and distribution. To ignore change in making a durable plan is to fail; to understand it and to measure its future is most difficult. Likewise for any man or set of men to attempt to frame in detail such a plan and to leave no part of it to be filled in by those who are to operate it in the future is likewise to invite certain failure, for life is too complex and changes are too rapid and often far-reaching to make it possible to know what solution to arrive at until some experience with the changed condition has pointed the way. So, in general, it may be said, that those plans are best which are least rigid, which deal only with fundamentals, and which pass on to the future the responsibility of largely solving its own problems. The United Order is strong in this particular and wisely so. As our outline indicates its main features can be encompassed in brief space. Recognition of dynamic change is found in the effort to maintain approximate equality.

And all moneys that you receive in your stewardships, *by improving upon the properties which I have appointed unto* you, in houses, or in lands, or in cattle, or in all things save it be the holy and sacred writings, which I have reserved unto myself for holy and sacred purposes, shall be cast into the treasury as fast as you receive moneys, by hundreds, or by fifties, or by twenties, or by tens, or by fives.[2]

Also—Nevertheless, inasmuch as they receive more than is needful for their necessities, and their wants, it shall be given into my storehouse . . . . Behold this is what the Lord requires of every man in his

1 Clark, *Essentials of Economic Theory*, pp. 203-206.
2 *Doctrine and Covenants*, 104:68.

stewardship, even as I, the Lord, have appointed, or shall hereafter appoint unto any man.[1]

Thus, stewardships which grow in value, either through superior management by the stewards concerned, or by improvement through the employment of additional capital, or perhaps through changes incident to growth in population, or to unforseen mineral or fuel resources, or to improved methods of production, or possibly to economies that the Order has been able to bring about by central planning, will become a source of wealth to the community and later through the community to the individual steward, for all surplus which is not needed by the family is to be placed in the storehouse or, according to the latter arrangement, converted into money and placed in the treasury.

What means are to be adopted to make the practice effective is indicated first in Revelation forty-two. "Every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property."[2] This is a moral requirement only.[3] Unfortunately in everyday affairs the average man is prone to be more impressed with immediate needs than with distant future spiritual standing, and in spite of good intentions "present calls" often overwhelm his principles. But a further responsibility is to be required:

> And verily, in this thing ye have done wisely, for it is required of the Lord, at the hand of every steward, to render an account of his stewardship, *both in time and in eternity.* For he who is faithful and wise in time is accounted worthy to inherit the mansions prepared for them of my Father.[4]

This latter provision strengthens the Order very much against those natural human forces which tend always to assert, and generally in the end to establish themselves, in spite of strong spiritual desires and good intentions. The experience of the church with tithing illustrates this point very well. Tithing is the law which was introduced as a lesser law after the law of consecration, or the United Order, made its first failure. According to it, every church member is to pay "one-tenth of his interest (income) annually" to the church. In many respects the results have been good. But with tithing the church member renders no account of his property or income to the bishop. He simply makes a statement that his payment is his tithing "in full" or "not full," and the books are soon thereafter closed for the year.[5] In the handling of the stewardships, however, a more far-reaching relationship is established in the requirement that the steward is to render accounts of his holdings. It is probable that, with the growth of the system, uniform methods of accounting with respect

1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* 70:7-9.
2 *Ibid.,* 42:32.
3 B. H. Roberts, Assistant Church Historian, appears to take the view that the steward is responsible only to his God. See *History of the Mormon Church, Americana,* vol. 5, p. 284.
4 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 72:3-4.
5 Presiding Bishopric, *Instructions,* No. 13, pp. 21-23.

to different branches of industry would be established and it is without question easily possible with efficient administration for the officials to know, through this rendering of accounts, what the surplus from each stewardship is. There can be no doubt wisdom would suggest that a great deal of attention be given to the question of devising and installing an adequate system of uniform accounting during the early stages of the establishment of the Order, for the Order relies mainly on this provision to perpetuate the equality which is the basic principle of the Order,[1] and unless an adequate system is developed and executed under good leadership, equality will gradually slip away, and with it will go the spiritual power which it generates. For if the practice becomes common of withholding or concealing substantial portions of the surplus, the system cannot endure. In this case an ounce of prevention is worth many pounds of cure.

But while this responsibility of the steward *in time* should be made effective so that all surpluses find their way into the treasury, the enviable position of the steward need in no sense be jeopardized, nor his integrity as a free individual be infringed upon, for the enforcement of this regulation is required by the interests of the group. If our thesis be correct, the wellbeing of the individual is best served, not when individual license, masquerading in the guise of liberty, prevails, nor, on the other hand, when the individual interests are dwarfed in the attempt to promote social welfare; but when as much individual liberty is permitted as group or social wellbeing permits. Considerable latitude, it is already evident, is provided for the steward. "Nevertheless, inasmuch as they receive more than is needful for their *necessities,* and their *wants,,* it shall be given into my storehouse."[2] There is latitude her of no small extent. Having succeeded in bringing a surplus into existence the steward is entitled to satisfy at least some of those legitimate wants which have been postponed during the leaner past years, and he is permitted to do so.

It is to be observed also, that ultimately there is no absolute compulsion. The stewardship is deeded to the steward, and if he decides that he will keep his surplus, he has the right to do so. Here again the individualism of Joseph Smith manifests itself. The spiritual power which the system is intended to foster and

1 It is of interest to observe the experience of the Soviets in Russia. The following extracts are from Lenine's address of June, 1919. "Keep accurate and conscientious accounts; conduct business economically; do not loaf; do not steal; maintain strict discipline at work. These slogans, which were justly ridiculed by revolutionary proletarians when they were used by the bourgeoisie to cover its domination as a class of exploiters, have now, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, become our urgent and principal slogans. Of decisive importance is the organization of strict and uniform accounting and control of production and distribution. But we have not yet effected accounting and control in these enterprises and in those branches and departments of economic effort which we have taken away from the bourgeoisie. Without this there can be no question of the second condition, just as essential to the establishment of socialism, that is, the increase of the productivity of labor on a national scale." Published in *Commons' Trade Unionism and Labor Problems* (Boston, 1921), pp. 179-198.

2 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 70:7.

develop can exist only where free choice makes the individual worthy through the triumph of good desires. Though each one is made to realize that he is but a steward over something which belongs to God, that he is a part of a big effort to achieve not only material well-being but also equality and brotherly dealings in all the affairs of life, and that the turning in of an honest surplus is absolutely necessary to the success of the plan, so that a refusal would place him out of joint with the whole system, still, each time he turns over to the treasury his surplus he realizes that he has had dealings with the God whom he worships and has dealt honorably with Him. Herein lies at once the strength and the weakness of the plan—the paradox—which makes it at the same time both strong and weak. Strong because great accomplishments are possible only where "perfect freedom" prevails, and weak because the selfishness of man is given the opportunity to do great damage. Through warranty deed ownership of his stewardship the individual can take any attitude toward the system that he desires and, in the final analysis, the Order is powerless to enforce its basic stipulations. Only a seasoned religious body of relatively high spiritual attainments would be well suited to bring about its establishment.[1] Clearly a great administrator would be needed to couple with the idealism of Joseph Smith the machinery necessary to put the plan into actual operation. In that case habit, custom, and precedent, backed by powerful public opinion, might be depended upon to enforce compliance.

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1 The practical-minded Brigham Young appreciated this difficulty later on when he gave the reason for the delay in starting the effort in Utah: "I say to the Latter-day Saints that the only reason why we do not take up the subject and enter into the organization of Enoch or a city of Enoch, is simply because we have not yet been able to find every item of law bearing upon the matter so as to organize in such a way that apostates cannot trouble us." *Journal of Discourses,* (Liverpool, 1854-55) vol. 16, p. 182.

CHAPTER XXI

CONTROL OF THE ORDER

The United Order as planned in the *Doctrine and Covenants* appears to be based to a considerable extent on democratic principles but there are particular features to be considered concerning the treasury into which the surplus is placed. Certain characteristics of Mormon Church government also have bearing. Let us examine the treasury first.

"There shall not any part of it be used or taken out of the treasury only by the voice and common consent of the Order."[1] This kind of a provision would provide an effective check and insure final control of the treasury. One exception to this arrangement, however, is made:

> And this shall be the voice and common consent of the Order; that any man among you, say unto the treasurer, I have need of this to help me in my stewardship; if it be five talents (dollars) or if it be ten talents, or twenty, or fifty, or an hundred, the treasurer shall give unto him the sum which he requires, to help him in his stewardship, until he be found a transgressor, and it is manifested before the council of the Order, plainly, that he is unfaithful, and an unwise steward; but so long as he is in full fellowship, and is faithful, and wise in his stewardship, this shall be his token unto the treasurer, that the treasurer shall not withhold. But in case of transgression, the treasurer shall be subject unto the council and voice of the Order.

Just how important this exception would be in limiting the control of the members over the common treasury, experience alone could determine. At first reading it appears to be an astonishing arrangement which could not help but bring confusion and destroy control. It is quite apparent that, giving due consideration to "human nature," common control would soon be very seriously interfered with, unless, in practice, rules were established which in some way limited the right of the individual to make demands on the treasury. The terms "unfaithful" and "unwise" steward suggest the line along which such limitation was probably intended to be developed.

Let us consider the situation under four headings: 1. When the steward is an able financier. 2. When the steward is of average capacity. 3. When the steward is below average capacity. 4. When social needs demand production in other lines.

1. *Steward in possession of unusual financial ability.* If the stewardship expands and grows the able steward will necessarily have to make frequent requisition on the treasury for funds for purposes of improvement. This will be clear when it is remembered that he must turn over to the treasury all the surplus over

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104:71-75.

and above his family needs. There is, therefore, no place other than the treasury where he can obtain the money needed. In his case, he, no doubt, will turn into the treasury more than he takes out for improvement. As long as he is a "wise steward" and his improvements are fruitful, his judgment is to determine, and the treasurer is not to deny his requests. Considerable scope is thus given to free initiative on the part of the individual producer, and the community may expect to soon discover its natural born "captains of industry" and to reap the benefits of their superior ability.

In view of the important place which "superior ability" has in production, the arrangement in practice, providing the officers of the Order are men of wise leadership, appears to have decided advantages. Under present capitalistic conditions the training of children for a place in the economic structure is very largely in the hands of parents who receive little or no return for the money invested in such training. The result is a vast waste of potential ability, because the poor cannot invest capital in their children's training. The establishment of a higher approach to economic equality that the Order contemplates would tend to lessen. appreciably the artificially wide margin between abilities that exists today. Certain it is the number in the lower levels would be greatly reduced. The common phrase, the hundred thousand dollar men are scarce, finds its explanation here. Under the United Order any man who succeeds with his stewardship and remains faithful, has a splendid opportunity to develop his talents through his right to ask for funds from the treasury for improvements. The industrial organization itself would thus tend powerfully to sift out and draw into suitable service those possessed of differential ability.

The incentive which operates among men of this superior class to draw from them their best efforts is simply this. They provide for their families a living which is of a standard that has been, under the general conditions of the Order, socially determined as a proper one. Beyond that success means standing and reputation in their chosen vocations of life. As time goes on and "credit standing" is built up at the treasury, its possession becomes of increasing value. As the well-being of the community is enhanced through the intelligence and insight of these men their position as "public benefactors" comes to rest on a sure foundation for they have in a "most real" sense worked for the public welfare. Theirs is not the giving for philanthropic purposes of wealth which may or may not have been obtained in questionable ways, as is so common a method of achieving the position of a public benefactor today. They form the class which enriches the community, defends it from poverty, and directs productive force into the channel of progress.

It is difficult to see how, in practice, since there would be a

considerable number in this class,[1] the treasurer could satisfy all the requisitions that would be made on the treasury and have funds to take care of calls in other directions. The "Counsel" would soon find it necessary to inquire into the "wisdom" of particular improvements, and would have to take into consideration both the situation of the individual steward and the needs of the community. In order for the steward to remain a "wise steward" his requests for funds for improvements would have to be in harmony with the condition of the treasury and the social requirements of the community. Hence in practice control by the Council would no doubt soon become the established system.

2. *When the steward is of average capacity,* he will, in the main, turn nothing into the treasury for, since the stewardship is intended to be just large enough to provide for the needs of the family,[2] it will be the average man's capacity to produce which will determine the size of the stewardships.[3] Nevertheless, as an individual, he has just as much right to call upon the treasurer for funds for improvement as those of superior capacity. But, here again, the conditioning phrase "faithful and wise steward" will find big application in practice. The steward who can show no surplus to put into the treasury would not likely be given large sums for improvement. If he makes a good showing with what is given him by the treasurer, his credit standing will increase and he can expect more. In some seasons of business prosperity, or of good crops, he will have a surplus. But, in the main, it seems a legitimate conclusion that he will have about all that he can do to make a comfortable living for his family. He will neither turn anything of consequence into the treasury nor will he expect to make extravagant demands for improvement. It is likely, however, that some part of the treasury funds will be devoted to the improvement of the holdings of the average man. It is inconceivable that he should have full liberty to call upon the treasury for any amount that he might happen to desire. Social needs meriting as they do big considertion would in practice come to have such a place as a determining factor. The right of the steward to call upon the treasurer for funds for improvement would remain a very important right, but he could expect to get only such amounts as social considerations and his past record made it the part of wisdom for him to use. The Council and the Treasurer, being the custodians of the group or social viewpoint, would tend to exercise a limiting effect on extravagant expenditures.

1 In a community of fair size the normal curve of frequency distribution would apply fairly well, and it may be expected that as a working proposition from 10-15% would have unusual capacity, from 70-80% average ability, and from 10-15% would be under average.

2 See *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 51:3; also 42:32.

3 Note: The phrase "in the main" is used because it is recognized by the writer that abilities vary to a considerable extent in any class. But the variation will be confined within relatively narrow limits and for practical purposes the average man will be found to be a good representative of his class.

Here too, then, it appears that the Order, through its officers. will in practice retain control of the treasury.

3. *When the steward is below average in capacity,* the income from his stewardship will not be large enough to provide as good a living for his family as the average man provides. In cases, he may find it necessary to obtain help from the bishop's Storehouse.[1] He, however, has the same theoretical right to make the demand on the treasurer for the improvement of his holding as any one else, but, in his case, the limiting condition, "faithful and wise" would operate strongly and treasury funds would not be wasted in large amounts in making extensions. It is to be remembered, however, that even the least gifted learn from experience; and if a wise policy, in harmony with *the obvious spirit* of this unusual provision, be followed, he will be encouraged by being granted larger amounts in proportion as he improves in his efforts.

As we approach the lower level of abilities it becomes increasingly important that control over the treasury by the officers of the Order be maintained, for, if the community's capital were to go indiscriminately into the hands of the ignorant, waste and retrogression instead of progress would be the inevitable result.

4. *When social needs demand production in other lines,* a series of most important questions arise and confront the officers of the Order. The whole question of planned production presents itself, and the supreme importance of social interests in comparison with the desires of a single individual comes at once to the front. A dairyman wishes to build a modern dairy barn. The improvement would add a little to his capacity to produce milk and butter and somewhat to his convenience. There is no shortage of either milk or butter. The manager of the flour mill wants an elevator in order to store the farmers' wheat and sell it at opportune times and get the advantage of a good market. The condition of the treasury is such that both requests cannot be granted. The elevator is built and the dairyman is asked to wait. The cotton producers have perhaps fallen short of supplying a rising market. Their requests must have preference over the requests of the hay producers who are supplying feed for cattle in a glutted market. An enlarged grocery is needed in a growing section of the city. It must have preference over a request to enlarge a furniture store where the need is less urgent. Plainly group needs must condition and in a large measure determine what requests can be granted and what must be denied.

Inevitably, if the movement succeeds, control must remain in the hands of the officers of the Order. A different interpretation might be placed upon the passage which instructs the treasurer to

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sec. 42:53.

honor any requests that are made so long as the individual remains a faithful and wise steward. But both in the practical working out of relations under good leadership and in properly appreciating the spirit of the context it appears that the intention is to perpetuate as much individual liberty and free initiative in production as is compatible with the general well-being of the Order. In other words, the saving phrase, "so long as he is in full fellowship, and is faithful and wise in his stewardship," lifts the arrangement out of confusion and suggests a wise means, if it is handled by able men, of distributing available capital into productive channels. Unusual consideration is given to the wise steward, but at the same time the steadying hand of central direction (embodied by the Council and the Treasurer) encourages and modifies. Overproduction in particular lines, maladjustment of fixed and circulating capital, seasonable employments, etc., such patent causes of the cycle with its period of prosperity and its period of depression, and which are so difficult to handle under the present system, would have little excuse for continuance. Almost automatically they would be woven out of the economic structure under good management.

There is another consideration to be taken into account in comparing the United Order with industrial democracy. In the latter the people exercise control through officers who derive their authority either directly from the people concerned by election, or indirectly through the appointive power. In the Mormon Church higher authority proposes the names of new officers and the people either accept or reject them by vote. The initiative in the selection of officers always rests with the authorities of the priesthood and not with the church membership. It is customary at times to feel after the desires of the people by means of a secret ballot before the officers' names are proposed, but there is nothing binding about the resulting expression of popular desire, although it is usual to follow it.

There is also another characteristic of Mormon belief which would tend in practice to remove the United Order farther from a realization of industrial democracy. It is a strongly entrenched belief that the officers of the priesthood, when faithful, are guided by inspiration in the performance of their church duties. Hence, when anything is proposed by a church officer, the usual practice is to accept it readily. Only very rarely, and only when grievances have grown to somewhat large proportions, do the people object. The tendency is in the direction of "yea, yea," rather than towards independent initiative from the membership. In spite of this tendency there has been perpetuated in the average Mormon a considerable amount of aggressive independence due, in part, to conditions surrounding pioneer life. In "affairs temporal" it is quite probable that under the Order the control of the membership over

the treasury and over the officers would be quite substantial, though in no sense complete, through the right to "accept or reject."

As has been indicated earlier, a great problem which confronts industrial as well as political democracy, and perhaps its greatest problem, is the inefficiency which attends popular control. Well-liked but inefficient men are placed in office and waste follows in the wake of corruption. Perhaps no more disastrous type of inefficiency has ever been known than has occasionally been found in the Mormon Church when a good but inferior man has been placed at the head of a community and kept there thirty or perhaps forty years while the town has gradually died politically, industrially, and even religiously. Such examples, however, are rare. The usual practice is to select the best man that can be found for the position.

A more far-reaching provision governing control than the one concerned with the treasury, is the general arrangement that "all things shall be done by common consent in the church." Under this provision regulation of hours, and of conditions of employment should ultimately be determined by the stewards. Assume, for example, that it is found by experiment that an eight-hour day brings about a maximum production, but that a majority of the stewards have decided that although the returns, per stewardship, are larger on this basis, they prefer a standard of living in which the money income is somewhat less, but which permits of more time for leisure and cultural growth. There is no doubt that such a majority could bring about a reduction of hours from eight to six if they so desired, even though the officers of the Order were unanimously opposed to such a change. If the majority of the stewards felt that considerable money should be spent in making the conditions of employment safe, healthy and agreeable, they would be in a position to require that such expenditures be made.

It seems quite clear that in all such matters the steward would have a better understanding of the relation between his income and the amount he produced than does the wage-earner of capitalism. There is a common feeling among present-day wage-earners that they do not get all they produce. Demands are frequently made for higher wages irrespective of whether the worker adds a sufficient value to the product to warrant such a wage, or not. The steward being both the owner of capital and the man who works it, would come early to understand the fundamental relation which exists between the value of the thing produced and the amount that it is possible to pay to the man who produces it.

This general power of "common consent" which is to reside in the stewards, should give them ultimate control over everything pertaining to the Order. Initiative rests with the steward within

his stewardship, but not in the selection of his officers. A majority, however, can say "no" and their verdict is final. Thus do we find the stewards to be, in many ways, substantial characters. In the last analysis ultimate control is in their hands. The slow-going strength of the hills is bound up in the arrangement. In voting on Order officers the steward should be informed and alert and should use his right to reject as well as to accept, if he is to exercise a reasonable amount of practical control. A well-informed and highly developed community of stewards would make use of this right.

In view of the very great importance of the enterpriser in production, and in view further of the fact that the Council of the Order and the Treasurer cannot but exercise an influence of out. standing importance on these enterprisers through their power to permit and to curtail expansion, it becomes evident that the authorities of the church exercise a most important power because of their possession of the initiative in the selection of officers. They may either heedlessly ignore the lessen which the mistakes of democracies so slowly teach, or profit by those lessons and promote efficiency, in the only manner by which it can be successfully established—through the selection of able men for leadership and through the endowment of these men with sufficient authority so that, in a real sense, they will be held responsible for success or failure within the particular field over which each has charge. In this way, and in this way only, it seems, can the innate gifts, with which able men are endowed, be given that scope which permits of their full utilization, for the public benefit. Reference is made here only to leadership and to the organization of that leadership. So far as the inheritances themselves are concerned, abundant provision is made for free scope and the resulting responsibility which comes from it; for in the management of the inheritances the steward is responsible in large measure to God alone. If he is unwise his credit at the treasury for improvement purposes falls, but outside of this there seems to be contemplated little interference with his stewardship, although he must render his accounts to the bishop.[1].

In point of possibilities in efficient administration, the issue depends largely on the church authorities who select the United Order officials. It is obvious that the great difficulties that are incident to any new economic organization of a society, are such that no matter how good theoretically a plan may be, it will fail under inefficient or mediocre direction. Great leadership is required. Given such leadership, a fair amount of capital at the commencement, and a converted people of relatively high ideals and congenial interests, there appears to be much in the United

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1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, 72:3. See also B. H. Roberts, *History of the Mormon Church, Americana*, vol. 5, p. 284.

Order Plan which would make for contentment and satisfaction after its machinery was once put into operation. Once in operation, the great question of poverty would find a most adequate solution.

There are many systems which, in theory, are more democratic than the United Order. Practically, where life is complex the popular will has not, however, been able to do much in initiating policies. Politically, in this country, the people have not yet been able to extend their control to that point where they can exercise an effective check on either the government or the parties.[1] The United Order appears to contemplate an effective check by the stewards but does not expect them to do much by way of initiation so far as Order policies are concerned.

The *Doctrine and Covenants* does not mention any kind of merit plan for use in selecting officers for the joint-stewardships (large undertakings). Should the United Order be placed in operation again, a fruitful field for investigation and experiment would arise in this connection.

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1 *cf.*, F. J. Goodnow, *Party Government in England and the United States;* Jones, *Readings in Parties and Elections,* pp. 1-27.

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNITED ORDER ANSWER TO THE LABOR PROBLEM

The Wage Earner

The use of the term capitalism in connection with the United Order raises the question as to whether "capitalistic methods" of production are contemplated by the Order, and if so how can a sytsem of stewardships be harmonized with a system wherein the great majority are propertyless workers, who of necessity work under the direction of foremen and who cannot have "control over that from which the living comes." In short, is the factory system, based on the "division of labor" and involving a large wage earning class, compatible with the United Order?

It will be well to pause here and to inquire briefly into the place which the factory system or machine production occupies in present day economic life. It will be recalled that it was during the latter half of the eighteenth century that a number of inventions were made in connection with the spinning jenny, the power loom and the steam engine, which brought about the industrial revolution. Following rapidly there came the cotton gin, the steam boat, the locomotive, the telegraph. Improved transportation brought raw materials closer to the markets and made possible a wider field for selling finished goods. The division of labor involved in handling the machines further impelled the new system on its way by making possible invention upon invention, looking to the institution of mechanical power in place of man power. As the productive process became further divided, it became easier to standardize the work which each worker performed, and as such work became standardized it became easier to see how machines might be employed to do it. So the movement became cumulative, and in every line mechanical process was made to do the work formerly done by hand. While the steam locomotives were being increased in size and improved to take care of increasing freights, electricity and oil came forward to assist coal in the great moving process, propelling electric trolleys, interurban railways, elevated railways, subways, automobiles, trucks, motor boats, etc., and providing power for the machines. While the steamships were bringing the distant fertile fields close to the industrial centers so that raw materials, were plentiful and mannfactured products sure of a market, the cables, the telephones, and wireless were consolidating and pushing the nations together, and furthering the growth of trade. The farmer threw away the sickle and the hand plow, and substituted for them the combined

harvester, the thresher and the tractor; the housewife began to rest her weary hands and relieve her tired feet while electricity turned her washer and propelled her sewing machine; the business man found time to plan his business while the adding machine and the dictaphone relieved him of the old routine; the manufacturer turned his attention to co-ordination, to elimination of waste, to improved processes and methods, in place of superintendence of men. Production increased manifold and famine, so far as the advanced countries are concerned, became a thing of the past.

But while this progress has been made, there are certain aspects of the position of the wage earning class which makes their position more or less unsatisfactory. Dr. John Fitch enumerates three reasons for labor unrest as follows: (1) clashing interest between employer and employee, (2) tendency of modern industry to destroy the creative impulse, (3) the low status of the wage earners.[1] All three of these are of fundamental importance and very difficult to remedy under the existing order. As long as an employer is an employer and a wage-earner a wage earner, there will come times when their interests clash for, however well they hold together in their relations with the consumer, the division of the spoils must always remain a delicate question between them. The tendency of modern industry to destroy the creative impulse is certainly an evil when it exists, and there can be no question that it exists in certain industries to a considerable extent, and in nearly all industries more or less. But there has always been a great deal of necessary work to be done which has not been conducive to the creative impulse. It is true, no doubt, that the old artisan who took the raw material and finished the goods entire, took legitimate pride in the "work of his hands," but it is also true that the man who runs a piece of complicated machinery, who knows how to adjust its every part, and who makes it respond to his care and manipulation, also feels a degree of attachment and pride which, if not so much of the creative type, is none the less real and satisfying. It is in the small, monotonous tasks which the division of labor has called into being, and which involve mere mechanical repetition with a minimum application of the intelligence that this is most pronounced. Perhaps the best hope for remedy lies in the very thing that has brought the task into being, *i.e.*, the division of labor, which later on may be responsible for the elimination of the task altogether through the further extension of mechanical process. In the meantime reasonably short hours will constitute a remedy by permitting some leisure and additional interests. The third hardship which has fallen to the lot of the wage-earner is the lowly position he occupies, a position uncertain

[1] This enumeration is taken from one of Dr. Fitch's lectures, delivered to a class in "Labor Problems" at Columbia University during 1921.

in tenure, unattractive in reward, and unfruitful in control over capital or ownership over property. In other words, he sells his labor to his employer who controls it and him, while he is disposing of it, for an amount which is sometimes below, often at, and usually a little above, the subsistence level. He owns little or no property.

Has the United Order anything to offer at this point? When the effort was being made in Missouri, pioneer conditions prevailed and an agricultural community was established so that the problems encountered were primarily of an agricultural type, but some commerce was engaged in, and a little manufacturing was done. The passage already quoted from the forty-second section seems to indicate that it was the intention that all should have a stewardship. "Every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property."[1] If such be the intention, the question immediately arises: who is to do the work in the factories, the clerking and office work in the stores, the unskilled work involved in construction and public improvements, etc.? If every married man is to have a stewardship, it appears at first consideration that only the unmarried of both sexes would be available for this work. Clerking is specifically mentioned. "And also let my servant, Sidney Gilbert, obtain a license (behold here is wisdom, and whoso readeth, let him understand) that he may send goods also unto the people, even by whom he will, as clerks employed in his service."[2] Wage earners as contrasted with stewards are, therefore, definitely recognized as a part of the system. In a modern factory the directing force (president, board of directors, superintendent, manager, foreman, etc.) are few in number in comparison with the large body of workers. If the married men are all to be stewards and the unmarried only wage earners, will there not be a superabundance of stewards and a corresponding scarcity of workers? But here, as in the planning of cities, Joseph Smith builded better than he knew, for the United Order principle of stewardships applied to the wage system paves the way for what is probably the finel solution of the labor problem.

Joseph Smith knew little about the "factory system" of production. No mention is made, so far as I am able to determine, of any kind of stewardships which are not based on agriculture or have close connection with it. But let us attempt to apply these United Order principles to a typical modern factory and see in what direction it leads us. Suppose for our purpose, that an automobile factory is capitalized at $10,000,000. Let there be 1000 men employed in it. Instead of wages being paid these workers, let each possess a "stewardship" amounting to $10,000 worth of stock and let him receive monthly whatever dividends the net earn-

1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, 42:32.
2 *Ibid.*, 57:9.

ings of the factory make it possible to declare.[1] This kind of an arrangement at once begins to clear the ground in labor's troubled field. Clashing interests disappear; the incentive to industry, on the part of the worker, is multiplied; the position of the wage earner is elevated and dignified. The United Order encounters no such obstacles as an undue proportion of stewards as opposed to wage earners. Rather, because of its provisions for centrtal direction, it should be able to find a productive place for each worker. There is little room in the Order for the propertyless wage earner. He practically goes out of existence.

But the United Order requires that we take account of some other things also. Let us postulate further that the community "standard of living" has been set at approximately $1,500.00 per year. If the automobile factory, after allowing a proper amount for repairs and replacement, shows a net earning of more than this amount for each $10,000 of stock, such surplus would go into the general United Order treasury, there to be used for extensions, or for the declaring of further dividends to the holders of stewardships throughout the community. If the various factories in the community were prospering and the majority turned in a good surplus, it is easily possible that the stewards might receive a substantial amount in the way of special dividends from the surplus. As each man profited in proportion to the "fatness" of the surplus, his interest in it would grow and a very wholesome rivalry would develop between the different factories in keeping up their contributions to the surplus. In this way the standard of living in the community would grow and if perchance the community became wealthy might amount to several times the initial $1,500.00. Under these conditions the surplus would become highly prized and carefully guarded. On the other hand, it is easy to postulate conditions under which the surplus would become dissipated and would not redound to the advantage of those who contributed to it. Such a condition, if long maintained, would probably mean failure for the system.

Let us inquire here, further, whether the position of the wage earner would be materially improved from his own standpoint and also from that of the public. 1. He changes from a propertyless position to that of the ownership of enough property when worked by him, to provide the established standard of life. 2. His position is no longer menial. He does not sell himself and his efforts for a price. 3. He loses the deep-rooted

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1 It would be going a little beyond the United Order, though not out of harmony with it, to suppose that the work is carefully graded and that the foremen, managers, superintendents, presidents, directors, as well as clerical and office help, achieve their positions on a "merit" plan which takes account of training, ability, length of service, etc., and that all such and similar rules and regulations are determined upon by joint action of United Order officers and men within the factory and are not superimposed on the men from those above or from without the establishment.

antagonism which "clashing interest" keeps alive between employer and wage earner. The *raison de etre* of labor troubles ceases to exist in its present virulent form. 4. He acquires a personal interest in the welfare of the factory, for the double reason that he owns a substantial part of it and further that the size of his income depends on the earnings of the factory along with the earnings of the other stewardships of the community. Bear in mind that the plan is a community one. The community is the unit. It is not the individual, nor the family, but the community that is the craft which sinks or swims. If it sinks, all on board go down; if it floats smoothly through the troubled waters, happy are they who have taken passage. The steward holds a substantially more satisfying position than the wage earner providing the plan succeeds and a correspondingly less agreeable one if it fails. No economist is satisfied with the present status of the wage-earner, particularly the unskilled worker. But how to genuinely improve his position?—that is the question.

CHAPTER XXIII

PLAN OTHERWISE CAPITALISTIC. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It might have been suggested. in the discussion in the preceding section, that practical administration would demand that some substitute for deeding the inheritances to the members be found, a substitute which would give the officers of the Order sufficient control over each individual inheritance so that they could effectively demand the turning over of the surplus. Brigham Young sought to overcome this difficulty later on in Utah by means of incorporating the enterprise, but in so doing much of the individualism of the earlier plan was necessarily lost. It is through this provision of the system that the United Order as Joseph Smith established it, comes to stand midway between Socialism and present-day Capitalism. The United Order is based on the capitalistic, competitive system. It represents that system, modified in somewhat thoroughgoing fashion in the interest of equality. "Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou receive of thy brother, and if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support (from the stewardship which belongs to the steward) thou shalt give it unto my Storehouse."[1] Again, "thou shalt not steal" (private property).[2] The steward is not to be counted a cog in the wheel. He is to be an owner of property and of approximately as much property as anybody else. The proceeds of his industry are his up to that point where his "necessities and his wants" are satisfied. The balance only, he hands over to the treasury. In a real sense his family's welfare depends upon him for what they are to have, depends upon his industry. Likewise the community's welfare depends upon him also, for the common good is dependent upon the amount of surplus that he, along with his neighbors, can spare for the treasury. The call then to the individual is not simply one of self-interest but one of self-interest and social interest combined. Much of the vigor and the strength and the satisfying power of capitalism has been retained. The incentive to unlimited wealth acquirement is gone, and the viewpoint is somewhat changed, but the task ahead is still formidable, though there is a somewhat different type of call to service. Love of family beckons the steward on to industrious labor. When he has provided for family wants, community well-being steps in and supplants self-interest as the motive to further endeavor. Will he grow weary during the closing hours of the day?

1 *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 42:54-55.
2 *Ibid.*, Sec. 42:20.

It is easily possible in view of the prograss of mechanical invention, the great increase in capital, and the rapid strides in transportation improvement, to depict a very pleasing picture of future economic life. But in spite of such advancement it still remains true, that the major ills of life are still with us and their solution constitutes problems which have only lightly been touched upon. Poverty, sickness, and death still triumph over man. All hail to any plan which in genuine fashion strikes at the root of such problems. When the United Order is again attempted by the Mormon people, let us hope that it may be under more favorable conditions, and with a fairer chance to prove its worth than was provided in Missouri in 1831-34. A new economic order, in which industrial equality predominates, needs a strong welding force to knit the people together and hold them to their course, particularly through the early stages of transition. The religious motive provided such a bond for the Mormon people during the severe struggle for existence which was involved in the conquest of the arid West. Will this same bond be sufficiently strong to accomplish a like result when the effort is renewed to establish the United Order? If so, it is not impossible that these people will yet add another great element to human liberty. Religious freedom is here. Political freedom, in theory, is here. Industrial equality without which there cannot be genuine democracy is not here. Where are we to look for that plan and that leadership which will make practical demonstration of its feasibility?

"The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on."

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